SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS (Caius)
L'Works - English.

THE HISTORY OF Catiline's Conſpiracy, AND THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

By C. C. SALLUST.

With a NEW TRANSLATION of

CICERO'S FOUR ORATIONS againſt CATILINE.

To which is prefixed,

The LIFE of SALLUST.

LONDON:

Printed for R. GRIFFITH, in Paul's Church-Yard.

M.DCC.LI.

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PREFACE.

AS the uſefulneſs of tranſlations of the claſſics is univerſally allowed, ſo the difficulty of ſucceeding in them will be readily granted by all who have ever attempted it. To tranſlate a modern author of genius, into a modern language, is no eaſy taſk, though ſo many of the modern languages reſemble one another; it muſt therefore be extremely difficult to tranſlate any of the claſſical writers of Greece or Rome, into ſuch a language as ours, the idioms and ſtructure of which are ſo very different from thoſe of the Greek and Latin languages. But this is not all; the tranſlator muſt not only find proper phraſes to convey the images of his author, but he muſt animate his images with the ſame ſpirit: for it is with tranſlating as with painting; if the air and ſpirit of the original are wanting, there can be no true reſemblance.

The traſlator of Salluſt was very ſenſible of the difficulty of his undertaking, and hopes the candid reader will make fair and equitable allowances for the defects that attend the execution of it. His great aim has been to preſerve a due medium between a verbal, and too bold and free a tranſlation; having made it his firſt care to preſerve the ſentiment of his author, and his next, to adhere to his words, as far as he was able to expreſs them in an eaſy and natural manner. By this method he flatters himſelf that he has, in ſome meaſure, anſwered both the ends he propoſed in tranſlating Salluſt; the firſt of which was, to furniſh ſuch young gentlemen as have made a tolerable progreſs in the Latin tongue, with ſuch a verſion of him, as, at the ſame time that it had all the advantages of a literal tranſlation, ſhould be free from that flatneſs which is inſeparable from ſuch, and read with tolerable eaſe and fluency. His other view was to preſent ſuch as are not

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capable of reading Salluſt himſelf, and yet are deſirous of being acquainted with the memorable tranſactions of which he gives an account, with ſuch a tranſlation of him, as ſhould have ſomewhat of the air of an original.

But here the reader will be apt to ſay; what occaſion for a new tranſlation of Salluſt? Are there not ſeveral very good ones already? The tranſlator would be far from derogating from the merit of any former tranſlations of his author; and in anſwer to this queſtion, all he has to ſay is, that if his has but equal merit with any of them, as he humbly apprehends it has, there will ſtill be this additional recommendation of it, that beſides the neatneſs of the impreſſion, it may be purchaſed at an eaſier price than the others: a circumſtance which, he imagines, will plead ſtrongly in his favour with the generality of readers.

He has nothing farther to add, but that if this his firſt eſſay meets with a fa-

vourable reception from the public, it will be a powerful inducement to him to continue his labours in the ſame way; by which means it will be in the power of almoſt every parent to furniſh his child with uſeful tranſlations of the ſchool claſſics in a neat and elegant form, and at a very eaſy rate.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE of SALLUST.

CAIUS CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS was born at Amiternum, in the country of the Sabines, in the year of Rome ſix hundred and ſixty eight, during the third conſulſhip of L. Cornelius Cinna, and the firſt of Cn. Papirius Carbo. He was deſcended from a Plebeian family, as appears from his having been one of the tribunes of the people, and from the many invectives againſt the nobility, that are ſcattered up and down his works. In his early years his inclination led him to the ſtudy of learning, to which he applied with the greateſt diligence, and made uncommon progreſs under the care of Atteius Prætextatus, called Philologus, one of the ableſt grammarians of the age.

It appears, that he had turned his thoughts, in his younger days, to the writing of hiſtory, for which he had, unqueſtionably, great talents; but, as he himſelf intimates in his preface to the hiſtory of Catiline's conſpiracy, he was diverted from this purſuit by the workings of ambition. It were to be wiſhed, for the ſake of his character, that he had kept cloſe to his original deſign, and not meddled with the management of public affairs; his reputation would then have been free from many of thoſe ſtains with which it is now blemiſhed. The Roman manners, in the age wherein he lived, were extremely licentious and depraved; corruption prevailed in the ſtate, and the moſt barefaced venality in all the courts of juſtice; the worthieſt patriots, the beſt friends to liberty, ſuffered, while the baſeſt parricides were exalted; the Patricians and Plebeians were engaged in the moſt violent ſtruggles, and as the one or the other happened to prevail, they oppreſſed the oppoſite party with wanton rage and fury: ſo that, conſidering the degeneracy of the times, it is the leſs to be wondered at, if he caught the infection, and was borne away by ſuch a torrent of corruption.

If we may credit the ancient declaimer, who, under the name of Cicero, has inveighed againſt

Salluſt,

Salluſt, his youth was ſtained with the fouleſt acts of lewdneſs; and indeed the groſs enormities of his more advanced years render it highly probable. We are told by M. Varro, an author worthy of credit, that he was caught in adultery with Fauſta, the daughter of Sylla, and ſeverely whipped by her huſband Milo, who likewiſe obliged him to pay a conſiderable ſum of money. There are other charges againſt him, believed chiefly upon the authority of the above-mentioned declaimer, but we ſhall not detain the reader by enumerating them.

From his being quæſtor, which was probably in the year of Rome ſix hundred and ninety three, he bore no public office till the year ſeven hundred and one, at which time he was made tribune of the people. In this office, he improved the opportunity that was put into his hands of revenging himſelf upon Milo, the murderer of Clodius, for the treatment he had received from him on the ſcore of Fauſta. Having gained over to his intereſt two other tribunes, Q. Pompeius Rufus, and Munacius Plancus Burſa, he employed all the arts of party and faction to keep up the ill humour of the populace againſt him; haranguing continually, and terrifying the city with forged ſtories of magazines of arms prepared by Milo, for maſſacring his enemies,

mies, and burning the city. Nor was he leſs active, in raiſing a clamour againſt Cicero, whom he threatned with trials and proſecutions, in order to deter him from pleading Milo's cauſe; giving out upon all occaſions, that Clodius was indeed killed by Milo, but by the advice and contrivance of a greater man.

In the year ſeven hundred and three, he was expelled the Senate by the then cenſors Appius Claudius and Calpurnius Piſo, on account of his lewd and profligate life. The year following, however, he was reſtored to the dignity of ſenator by Julius Cæſar, and likewiſe made quæſtor; in which office he is charged with great corruption, with making ſale of every thing he could, and uſing it only as an occaſion of plunder. During Cæſar's ſecond dictatorſhip he was made Prætor, an honour which had like to have proved fatal to him. For endeavouring in vain to quiet a ſedition, which aroſe among Cæſar's troops in Campania, that were deſigned for Africa, he went to Rome to give Cæſar an account of it; and was purſued by a conſiderable body of them, who would certainly have put him to death, if they had overtaken him. Cæſar, upon his arrival, calmed the commotion, and paſſed over into

into Africa, with part of his army, taking Salluſt along with him; whom, a few days after his landing, he ſent with part of his fleet, into the iſland of Cercina, at that time in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, being informed, that there was a great quantity of corn in it, of which he ſtood very much in need. C. Decimus the quæſtor, who had been left with a ſtrong party to ſecure the corn, upon the Prætor's approach, embarked in a ſmall veſſel, and made his eſcape. Salluſt met with a favourable reception from the natives, found great plenty of corn, loaded his ſhips, and returned to Cæſar. What other ſervices he performed during the courſe of the war, does not appear; but it is certain he was cloſely attached to Cæſar's party and intereſt.

When the war in Africa was ended, Cæſar beſtowed upon him the government of Numidia, which he plundered in the moſt inhuman manner. No one indeed could be more rapacious than he was, during the courſe of his adminiſtration in this province; a reproach which falls the more heavily upon him, as he had inveighed ſo keenly againſt corruption, and corrupt magiſtrates, and beſtowed ſo high encomiums on virtue and equitable government. With the ſpoils of his infamous magiſtracy

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he purchaſed a country-houſe at Tivoli, and one of the nobleſt dwellings in Rome on the quirinal mount, with beautiful gardens, which to this day are called the gardens of Salluſt. In what manner he ſpent the remainder of his days, we have no account; he died in the year of Rome ſeven hundred and nineteen.

Though Salluſt's character as a man has been held in juſt abhorrence and deteſtation; as an hiſtorian he has been ever highly admired by the beſt judges. His talents for hiſtory were certainly very great, and where he purſues the thread of it, he does it in the moſt perſpicuous, agreeable, and inſtructive manner: his ſtile is clear and nervous; his narration natural; his deſcriptions beautiful; his reflections curious and ſolid; his ſpeeches animated and perſuaſive; and his characters juſt and ſtriking. After all he is not without his faults, and thoſe very great ones. He is very apt to ſtart from his ſubject, in order to diſplay his own abilities, and to run into digreſſions, which, however ingenious and entertaining, have an air of affectation and ſelf-ſufficiency. His vanity appears clearly in his prefaces, which are full of compliments

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to himſelf, and, inſtead of being pertinent introductions to his hiſtory, ſeem rather deſigned to repreſent the importance of his own character and ſtudies. They abound indeed with virtuous ſentiments, and bitter invectives againſt corrupt governors, tho' theſe by the way, ſeem rather to proceed from private pique and reſentment, than from a genuine abhorrence of corruption, or a truly patriot zeal for the public good.

His hiſtory of the war with Jugurtha is a maſterly performance; but his partiality to Cæſar, and his treatment of Cicero, are unpardonable faults in the account of Catiline's conſpiracy. When he draws the characters of Cato and Cæſar, he conſiders them only as two great ſubjects in the ſervice of a free ſtate, and acquiring fame by different ways and qualities; without once mentioning the moſt material difference between them, that the one laboured earneſtly, through the whole courſe of his life, to preſerve and reform the ſtate, whilſt the other did all in his power to corrupt and deſtroy it. Did we know nothing more of Cæſar, than what Salluſt ſays of him, we ſhould certainly take his character for a great and amiable one. But he has only given us the fair ſide

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of it, if it may be properly ſaid, that it had one, without repreſenting him in his true colours, as the friend and patron of the abandoned, the depraved, and deſperate; as the promoter of public abuſe and corruption; as one who took pleaſure in embroiling and debauching the ſtate; and as a monſter of ambition. He put on indeed the guiſe of clemency, for which he has been highly celebrated by his flatterers, as if it had been a real, and not an aſſumed quality in him. But ſurely no one, who is acquainted with his character, will aſſert, that he, who was guilty of the greateſt cruelty in making war upon, and enſlaving his country, would have relinquiſhed his mad ſchemes of ambition, if gentle methods had failed him, rather than have recourſe to acts of blood and vengeance. After having ſeen how Marius and Sylla were hated for their perſonal cruelties, no wonder that he ſhould put on the appearance of this, as well as of other virtues. But that clemency was not his natural character, we have the expreſs teſtimony of his friend Curio, who well knew him: Cælius too, one of his partizans, freely ſays of him, in a letter to Cicero, that he meditated nothing, but what was violent and tragical, nor even ſpoke in any other ſtrain. As

As partiality has made Salluſt beſtow falſe colours upon the character of Cæſar, ſo prejudice has kept him from placing that of Cicero in a clear and full light. He repreſents him indeed as an active, ſenſible, and diligent magiſtrate, allows him the character of an excellent conſul, but beſtows no greater degree of praiſe upon him, than what could not well be diſſembled by an hiſtorian; and even what he ſays of him does not ſeem to come directly from the heart. But was no more than this ſcanty meaſure of praiſe due to the immortal Cicero? No greater tribute due from an impartial hiſtorian to the ſaviour of his country? Was this doing full juſtice to the ſuperior abilities, the undaunted courage, the unwearied diligence, and uncommon ſagacity, whereby Cicero baffled ſo deſperate a conſpiracy, and ſaved Rome from one of the greateſt dangers that had ever threatened her? Is it not the duty of an hiſtorian to throw diſtinguiſhed luſtre on diſtinguiſhed merit, and to brighten the character of a national deliverer? If ſo, then ſurely Salluſt has fallen far ſhort of his, in the account he has given of Catiline's conſpiracy, which for this reaſon is a very defective performance.

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Had Cæſar done what Cicero did, his conduct had been related in very different ſtrains, his praiſes copiouſly ſet before the reader, and his character repreſented in the fulleſt light. We ſhould then have ſeen that maſterly addreſs, wherewith both ſenate and people were managed, that dexterity and artful management, whereby orders of men, the moſt averſe to each other, were united in the common intereſt of their country; and that vigilance, wherewith the ſecret machinations of the conſpirators were watched in ſilence, and a ſufficient force prepared to reſiſt them, before their black ſchemes were laid before the ſenate, amply diſplayed, and finely illuſtrated, together with a full account of the extraordinary honours which were the rewards of ſuch diſtinguiſhed ſervices.

As the four orations of Cicero againſt Catiline contain ſeveral remarkable circumſtances, and curious incidents not mentioned by Salluſt in his hiſtory of the conſpiracy, it has been thought proper to ſubjoin them to his account, that the orator may ſupply the defects of the hiſtorian.

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MEN who would act up to the dignity of their nature, ought not to pass their lives in obscurity, like the beasts of the field, formed with bodies prone to the earth, and under necessary subjection to their appetites.

Now our faculties are twofold; those of the soul, and those of the body; the soul was designed for sovereign command, the body for subjection: the former we enjoy in common with the gods, the latter with the brute creation. So that to me it appears more agreeable to nature, to pursue glory by the abilities of the mind, than those of the body; and as our lives are but of short duration, it should be our study to render our memory immortal. For the splendor derived from riches and beauty is short-lived and frail; virtue alone confers immortality.

It has, however been a great and long debate, whether success in war is most owing to bodily strength or mental abilities; for, as counsel is necessary before we enter upon action; after measures are duly concerted, speedy execution is equally necessary: so that neither of these being sufficient singly, they prevail only by the assistance of each other. Accordingly, kings of old (for this was the first title of authority among men) applied themselves differently; some, to strengthen their bodies by exercise; others, to improve their minds. Then, indeed,

ambition had no ſhare in influencing the conduct of men; every one was ſatisfied with his own. But after Cyrus began in Aſia, and the Lacedemonians and Athenians in Greece, to conquer cities and nations; when the luſt of power was thought a ſufficient reaſon for commencing a war; and glory was meaſured by the extent of dominion; then it was diſcovered by experience, that genius conduces moſt to ſucceſs. And if kings and rulers would exert their abilities in peace, as they do in war, the condition of human affairs would be much more ſteady and uniform; nor ſhould we ſee ſo frequent revolutions and convulſions in ſtates, and ſuch univerſal confuſion. For the ſame arts, by which dominion was at firſt acquired, will ſerve to ſecure it. But when, inſtead of induſtry, moderation, and equity, ſloth, licentiouſneſs, and pride prevail, the fortune of a ſtate changes with its manners. And thus power always paſſes from him who has leaſt merit, to him who has moſt.

It is to the powers of the mind we owe the invention and advantages of agriculture, navigation, and architecture, and indeed all the other arts of life. Yet many there are in the world, who, abandoned to ſloth and ſenſuality, without learning or politeneſs, paſs their lives much like travellers; and who, in oppoſition to the deſign of nature, place their whole happineſs in animal pleaſure, looking upon their minds as a heavy burden. The life and death of ſuch as theſe, are to me of equal value, ſince there is no notice taken of either. He only ſeems to me to be truly alive, and to enjoy his rational nature, who, by engaging in an active courſe of life, purſues the glory that is derived from noble actions, or the exerciſe of ſome honourable employment. Now amidſt a great variety of occupations, nature has directed men to different purſuits.

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To act well for the ſtate is glorious, and to write well for it, is not without its merit. A man may become illuſtrious in peace or in war: many have been applauded for performing heroic actions, many for relating them. And tho' the character of the hiſtorian is not reckoned ſo glorious as that of the hero; yet, to me it appears a very arduous taſk to write hiſtory well; ſince the ſtile muſt be ſuited to the ſubject. Beſides, many look upon the cenſure of faults, as the effect of malice and envy; and when the glorious atchievements of brave and worthy men are related; every reader will be eaſily inclined to believe what he thinks he could have performed himſelf, but will treat what exceeds that meaſure, as falſe and fabulous.

As for me, like moſt others, I had, in my younger days, a ſtrong deſire for a ſhare in the adminiſtration; but found many obſtructions in my way: for, inſtead of modeſty, juſtice, and virtue, licentiouſneſs, corruption, and avarice flouriſhed; which, tho' my ſoul, as yet untainted with evil habits, utterly abhorred; yet, amidſt ſuch general depravity, my tender years were caught by ambition; and although I avoided, in the general tenor of my conduct, the corrupt practices of the age, yet being fired with the ſame ardor for preferment, that others were, I was thence expoſed to envy and reproach, as well as they.

As ſoon, however, as my mind was delivered from the many croſſes and dangers attending this purſuit, and I had determined to retire, during the remainder of my life, from the adminiſtration, it was not my intention, to waſte ſuch valuable time in ſloth and indolence, nor to paſs my days in agriculture, hunting, or the like ſervile occupations; but

reſuming my former deſign, from which the curſed ſpirit of ambition had diverted me, I reſolved to employ myſelf in writing ſuch parts of the Roman hiſtory, as appeared to me to be moſt deſerving of being tranſmitted to poſterity; and this I choſe the rather, becauſe my mind was neither influenced by hope or fear, nor attached to any party in the ſtate; accordingly, I ſhall here, with the utmoſt veracity, give a ſhort account of Catiline's conſpiracy; a memorable attempt, both for the enormous wickedneſs of it, and the danger it threatened. But before I enter directly upon the ſtory, I ſhall give a ſhort character of the man.

LUCIUS CATILINE was deſcended of an illuſtrious family; he was a man of great vigour both of body and mind; but of a diſpoſition extremely profligate and depraved. From his youth he took pleaſure in civil wars, maſſacres, depredations, and inteſtine broils; and in theſe he employed his younger days. His body was formed for enduring cold, hunger, and want of reſt, to a degree indeed incredible: his ſpirit was daring, ſubtle, and changeable; he was expert in all the arts of ſimulation and diſſimulation; covetous of what belonged to others, laviſh of his own; violent in his paſſions: he had eloquence enough, but a ſmall ſhare of wiſdom. His boundleſs ſoul was conſtantly engaged in extravagant and romantic projects, too high to be attempted.

Such was the character of Catiline; who, after Sylla's uſurpation, was fired with a violent deſire of ſeizing the government; and, provided he could but carry his point, he was not at all ſolicitous by what means. His ſpirit, naturally violent, was daily more and more hurried on to the execution of his deſign, by his poverty, and the conſciouſneſs of his crimes; both which evils he had heightned by the prac-

practices abovementioned. He was encouraged to it by the wickedneſs of the ſtate, thoroughly debauched by luxury and avarice; vices equally fatal, tho' of contrary natures.

Now that I have occaſion to mention the Roman manners, I am naturally led to look back a little to paſt ages; and to give a ſhort account of the inſtitutions of our anceſtors, both in war and peace; how they governed the ſtate; and in what grandeur they left it; and how, by a gradual declenſion, it has fallen from the higheſt degree of virtue and glory, to the loweſt pitch of vice and depravity.

The Trojans, as far as I can learn, who were forced to fly from their native country, and wandered up and down, without any fixed abode, under the conduct of Æneas, were the founders of Rome, together with the Aborigenes, a barbarous race, ſubject to no laws, and reſtrained by no authority, but altogether independant and unaccountable. It is incredible, how eaſily theſe two nations, after they came to inhabit the ſame city, formed into one people, tho' differing in original, language, and manners. Afterwards, when wholeſome inſtitutions, an increaſe of territory and inhabitants, had rendered their ſtate ſufficiently flouriſhing and glorious; their opulence, ſuch is the hard fate of almoſt all human affairs, became the object of envy; neighbouring princes and nations fell upon them in war, and but few of their friends came to their aſſiſtance; the reſt, ſtruck with terror, kept at a diſtance from the danger.

The Romans, however, fearleſs and undaunted, equally upon their guard both within and without the walls, acted with ſpirit and reſolution; concerted their meaſures; encouraged one another; bold-

ly faced the enemy; and by their arms protected their liberty, their country, and their families; then, after having repelled their own dangers, they carried assistance to their confederates, and procured themselves alliances, more by conferring than receiving favours.

The form of their government was monarchical; but monarchy circumscribed by laws: a select number of men, whose bodies were indeed infeebled with years, but their minds in full vigour, formed a council for the direction of publick affairs; they were called FATHERS, either on account of their age, or a similitude of concern. Afterwards, when the regal government, which was established for maintaining liberty, and aggrandizing the state, degenerated into pride and tyranny; they abolished it, and created two magistrates with annual power; this they thought would be the most effectual method to prevent that insolence, which a long continuance of power generally inspires.

This change in the form of their government produced a great alteration in their manners; every one now exerted the utmost of his capacity in the service of his country, and was ready to display his talents upon all occasions. For under tyrants, the worthy are more exposed to jealousy than the worthless; and great abilities are always dreaded by them. It is incredible to relate, how much the city increased in a short time, after the recovery of its liberty; so great was the ardor of its citizens for glory. The youth, as soon as they were able to bear arms, betook themselves to the camp, where they were trained up to war by labour and practice; and they took greater pleasure in fine armour and war-horses, than in lewdness and banqueting. To such men no toils were unusual, no situation grievous, no enemies for-

formidable; their reſolution ſurmounted all difficulties. But their chief conteſt for glory was with one another; every one laboured to ſignalize himſelf in the view of his fellow-ſoldiers, by ſtriving to be the firſt in wounding the enemy, and ſcaling the walls. This they reckoned riches, this glory, and high rank. They were fond of applauſe, but liberal of money; they deſired only a competent ſhare of riches, but boundleſs glory. I could relate upon what occaſions a handful of Romans has defeated mighty armies; and what cities, ſtrongly fortified by nature, they have taken by aſſault; but this would carry me too far from my undertaking.

Yet ſurely fortune bears ſovereign influence over every thing; it is ſhe that brightens or obſcures all things more from caprice and humour, than a regard to truth and juſtice. The actions of the Athenians were, I am ready to grant, ſufficiently great and noble; though not to ſuch a degree as fame has repreſented them: but as they had writers of great genius, their atchievements are celebrated throughout the world as the greateſt that ever were: and the bravery of thoſe who performed them, is reckoned juſt as great as the abilities of theſe illuſtrious authors in extolling them. But the Roman people wanted this advantage; becauſe their ableſt men were the moſt employed in the ſervice of the ſtate. None cultivated their minds without bodily application. The worthieſt men preferred doing to ſpeaking; and choſe rather that others ſhould commend their virtuous actions, than they relate thoſe of others.

Good morals therefore were cultivated both at home and abroad. A ſpirit of perfect harmony and diſintereſtedneſs every where prevailed. Laws had no greater influence in determining them to the prac-

practice of juſtice and equity, than natural diſpoſition. The only quarrels, diſſentions, and diſputes they exerciſed, were againſt the public enemy: all the conteſts that ſubſiſted among the citizens, were in virtuous deeds. They were magnificent in their offerings to the gods; frugal in their families; and faithful to their friends. Bravery in war, and equity and moderation in peace, were the only means by which they ſupported themſelves and the publick affairs; and, as the cleareſt evidence of theſe virtues, I find, that, in time of war, ſuch as engaged the enemy contrary to orders, or continued in the field after a retreat was ſounded, were more frequently puniſhed, than thoſe who abandoned their ſtandards, or quitted their poſts; and, in peace, they conducted the adminiſtration more by the force of favours than of terror; and, if they received an injury, choſe rather to forgive than revenge it.

But when by probity and induſtry, the ſtate was become powerful; when mighty princes were conquered in war; barbarous nations and potent ſtates reduced to obedience; when Carthage, that vied with Rome for the empire of the world, was utterly demoliſhed, and ſea and land lay every where open to her power; then fortune began to exert her malice, and throw every thing into confuſion. Eaſe and riches, the grand objects of the purſuit of others, depreſſed and ruined thoſe, who had, without regret, undergone toils and hardſhips, diſtreſſes, and dangers. Firſt a love of money poſſeſſed their minds; then a paſſion for power; and theſe were the ſeeds of all the evils that followed. For avarice rooted out faith, probity, and every worthy principle; and, in their ſtead, ſubſtituted inſolence, inhumanity, contempt of the gods, and a mercenary ſpirit. Ambition obliged many to be deceitful, to belye with their tongues the ſentiments of their hearts;

hearts; to value friendſhip and enmity not according to their real worth, but as they conduced to intereſt; and to have a ſpecious countenance, rather than an honeſt heart. Theſe corruptions at firſt grew by degrees, and were ſometimes checked by correction. At laſt, the infection ſpreading like a plague, the ſtate was intirely changed, and the government, from being the moſt righteous and equitable, became cruel and inſupportable.

At firſt, indeed, the minds of men were more influenced by avarice than ambition, a vice which has ſome affinity to virtue; for the deſire of glory, power, and preferment, is common to the worthy and the worthleſs; with this difference, that the one purſues them by direct means; the other, being void of merit, has recourſe to fraud and ſubtlety; avarice has money for its object, which no wiſe man ever coveted. This vice, as if impregnated with deadly poiſon, enervates both ſoul and body; is always boundleſs and inſatiable; nor are its cravings leſſened by plenty or want. But when Sylla had by force of arms, made himſelf maſter of the ſtate, and, from fair beginnings, brought matters to a bloody iſſue, his victorious troops gave themſelves up to rapine and violence; one coveted a houſe, another lands: they obſerved neither meaſure nor moderation, but exerciſed the moſt enormous and inhuman outrages upon the citizens. Beſides, Sylla, to gain the affections of the army, which he had commanded in Aſia, had, contrary to the rules of our anceſtors, allowed them too great latitude, and indulged them in luxury: the warlike tempers of the ſoldiers, who were now without employment, became eaſily enervated, by their delicious quarters, and a life of pleaſure. Then the Roman troops firſt habituated themſelves to lewdneſs and drinking; to admire ſtatues, pictures, and ſculpture

ture; to make ſpoil of them both publickly and privately; to plunder the temples of the gods, and to ravage every ever thing both ſacred and profane. An army thus diſpoſed, and victorious too, was ſure to leave nothing to the conquered. For ſucceſs unhinges the minds even of wiſe men; how then ſhould they who were ſo depraved, uſe their victory with moderation?

When riches began to be held in high eſteem, and attended with glory, honour, and power; virtue languiſhed, poverty was deemed a reproach, and innocence paſſed for ill-nature. And thus luxury, avarice, and pride, all ſpringing from riches, enſlaved the Roman youth; they wantoned in rapine and prodigality; undervalued their own, and coveted what belonged to others; trampled upon modeſty, friendſhip, and continence; confounded things divine and human, and threw off all manner of conſideration and reſtraint.

To ſee the difference between modern and ancient manners, one needs but take a view of the houſes of particular citizens, both in town and country, all reſembling, in magnificence, ſo many cities; and then behold the temples of the gods, built by our anceſtors, the moſt religious of all men. But they thought of no other ornament for their temples, than devotion; nor for their houſes, but glory; neither did they take any thing from the conquered, but the power of doing hurt. Whereas their deſcendants, the moſt effeminate of all men, have plundered from their allies, by the moſt flagrant injuſtice, whatever their brave anceſtors left to their conquered enemies; as if the only uſe of power was do wrong.

It is needleſs to recount other things, which none but thoſe who ſaw them will believe; as the levelling of mountains by private citizens; and even covering the ſea itſelf with fine edifices. Theſe men appear to me to have ſported with their riches, ſince they laviſhed them in the moſt ſhameful manner, inſtead of enjoying them with honour. Nor were they leſs addicted to lewdneſs, and all manner of extravagant gratifications: men proſtituted themſelves like women; women laid aſide all regard to chaſtity. To procure dainties for their tables, ſea and land were ranſacked. They indulged to ſleep, before nature craved it; the returns of hunger and thirſt were anticipated with luxury; and cold and fatigue were never ſo much as felt. The Roman youth, after they had ſpent their fortunes, were prompted by ſuch depravations, to commit all manner of enormities; for their minds, impregnated with evil habits, and unable to reſiſt their craving appetites, were violently bent upon all manner of extravagancies, and all the means of ſupplying them.

In ſo great and debauched a city, Catiline had always about him, what was no difficult matter to find in Rome, bands of profligate and flagitious wretches, like guards to his perſon. For all thoſe who were abandoned to gluttony and voluptuouſneſs, and had exhauſted their fortunes, by gaming, feaſting, and lewdneſs; all who were overwhelmed with debts, contracted to purchaſe pardon for their crimes; add to this, parricides and ſacrilegious perſons from all quarters; ſuch as were convicted for crimes, or feared conviction; nay farther, all who lived by perjury and ſhedding the blood of citizens; laſtly, all whom wickedneſs, indigence, or a guilty conſcience, diſquieted, were united to Catiline in the firmeſt bonds of friendſhip and intimacy. Or

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if any perſon of an unblameable character became familiar with him, by daily converſation, and the ſnares that were laid to debauch him, he too ſoon reſembled, and even equalled the reſt. But what he chiefly courted was the intimacy of young men: their minds being ſoft and pliable, were eaſily enſnared. Some of theſe he provided with harlots; bought horſes and dogs for others, gratifying the favourite paſſion of each: in a word, he ſpared no expence, nor even his own honour, to engage them heartily in his intereſts. Some there were, I know, who thought, that the youth, who frequented Catiline's houſe, were guilty of unnatural lewdneſs; but this rumour, I apprehend, was more owing to other reaſons, than that there was any clear evidence of the fact.

As for Catiline himſelf; he had, when very young, been guilty of many abominable acts of lewdneſs: debauched a Veſtal, and a young lady of quality; with ſeveral other atrocious crimes, in open contempt of all law and order; afterwards he conceived a paſſion for Aurelia Oreſtilla, one, who had nothing but her beauty to recommend her; and becauſe ſhe ſcrupled to marry him, on account of his having a ſon who was arrived at years of maturity, it is believed as a certain fact, that he deſtroyed that ſon, and made his houſe deſolate, to open a way for this ſo infamous an alliance. And this indeed appears to me to have been the principal cauſe that puſhed him on to the execution of the conſpiracy. For his guilty ſoul, at enmity with gods and men, could find no reſt; ſo violently was his mind torn and diſtracted by a conſciouſneſs of guilt. Accordingly his countenance was pale, his eyes ghaſtly, his pace, one while quick, another ſlow; and indeed in all his looks there was an air of diſtraction.

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As for the youth whom he had ſeduced in the manner above related, they were trained up to wickedneſs by various methods: he taught them to be falſe witneſſes, to forge deeds, to throw off all regard to truth, to ſquander their fortunes, and ſlight dangers; and after he had ſtripped them of all reputation and ſhame, he puſhed them on to crimes ſtill more heinous; and, even when no provocation was given, it was their practice to inſnare and murder thoſe who had never injured them, as well as thoſe who had. For he choſe to be cruel and miſchievous without any cauſe, rather than the hands and ſpirits of his aſſociates ſhould loſe their vigour for want of employment.

Catiline, confiding in theſe friends and accomplices, formed a deſign to ſeize the government: he found an additional encouragement from the number of thoſe who were oppreſſed with debts throughout the ſtate, and the diſpoſition of Sylla's ſoldiers, who, having ſquandered away what they had lately acquired, and calling to remembrance their former conqueſts and depredations, longed for a civil war. Beſides, there was no army in Italy: Pompey was carrying on a war in the remoteſt parts of the earth: he himſelf was in great hopes of obtaining the conſulſhip: the ſenate ſeemed careleſs of the public; and all things were quiet: a conjuncture of circumſtances extremely favourable to his deſigns.

Accordingly, about the firſt of June, in the conſulſhip of L. Cæſar and C. Figulus, he firſt applied himſelf to his accomplices; ſome he encouraged, others he ſounded; acquainted them how ſtrongly he was ſupported; how few forces the government had to oppoſe him; and laid before them the great ad-

advantage that would attend the conſpiracy. Having ſufficiently ſifted them, he called all thoſe together, who were moſt neceſſitous and daring.

In this aſſembly were found of ſenatorial rank, P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Caſſius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. Sylla and S. Sylla, the ſons of Servius; L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læcca, L. Beſtia, and Q. Curtius: of the equeſtrian order, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, and C. Cornelius, to whom were joined many from the colonies and municipal towns, all men of figure in their ſeveral countries. There were likewiſe ſeveral noblemen engaged in this conſpiracy, tho' not ſo openly: men excited not by want, or any preſſing conſideration, but by the hopes of lawleſs power. Beſides theſe, almoſt all the youth, eſpecially the youth of quality, favoured Catiline's undertaking: even thoſe who had it in their power to live at their eaſe, nay, ſplendidly and luxuriouſly, preferring uncertainties to certainties, and diſcord to peace. Some there were at that time too, who believed that M. Licinius Craſſus was privy to the deſign; becauſe he hated Pompey, who was at the head of a great army; to reduce whoſe power, he would willingly have promoted any intereſt whatever: beſides, he hoped, if the conſpiracy ſucceeded, that he ſhould find it eaſy to make himſelf head of the conſpirators.

Some time before this, a like conſpiracy had been formed by a few, among whom was Catiline, of which I ſhall give the beſt account I am able.

In the conſulſhip of L. Tullus and M. Lepidus, P. Autronius and P. Sylla, who were choſen to ſucceed them, had been proſecuted for bribery at elections and puniſhed. Not long after, Catiline was

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likewiſe convicted of bribery, and hindered from ſuing for the conſulſhip, becauſe he could not declare himſelf a candidate within the limited time. At this time too, Cn. Piſo, a young nobleman, extremely bold, indigent, and factious, was inſtigated by his poverty and depraved morals to raiſe commotions in the ſtate. Catiline, Autronius, and he entering into a combination about the fifth of December, determined to murder the conſuls L. Torquatus and L. Cotta in the capitol, on the firſt of January: upon which Catiline and Autronius were to ſeize the conſulſhip, and ſend Piſo with an army to take poſſeſſion of both the Spains. But their deſign being diſcovered, they put off the aſſaſſination-plot to the fifth of February; at which time they propoſed not only to murder the conſuls, but likewiſe moſt of the ſenators. And if Catiline had not been too forward in giving the ſignal to his aſſociates, before the ſenate-houſe, there had been that day the moſt bloody maſſacre Rome had ever ſeen. But as no great number of the conſpirators had yet got together, the ſcheme was fruſtrated.

Notwitſtanding this, Piſo, tho' he had only the office of quæſtor, was afterwards ſent into Nether-Spain, in quality of proprætor, by the intereſt of Craſſus; becauſe he knew him to be an irreconcileable enemy to Pompey. Nor was the ſenate indeed averſe to his having the province, for they were deſirous to have ſo turbulent a citizen at a great diſtance from them; beſides, a great many, who wiſhed well to the intereſts of the ſtate, looked upon him as a defence to it, now the power of Pompey was become formidable. But Piſo, in his march to his province, was murdered by ſome Spaniſh horſe he had in his army. Some there are who aſcribe his death to his haughty, arbitrary, and tyrannical behaviour in his command, which the Barbarians

could not bear. Others alledge, that theſe ſoldiers aſſaſſinated Piſo by Pompey's order, whoſe old followers they were, and devoted to his intereſt: that the Spaniards had never attempted any ſuch thing before, but had often ſubmitted patiently to the mercileſs orders of their commanders. As for me, I ſhall leave the matter undetermined; and have now ſaid enough of the firſt conſpiracy.

When Catiline ſaw thoſe, whoſe names we have already given, aſſembled together; tho' he had often conferred with them ſingly, yet, judging it proper to addreſs and encourage them in a body, he withdrew with them into a private part of the houſe, where none could hear him but the conſpirators, and there ſpoke to them in the following manner.

'If your bravery and fidelity were not well 'known to me, the preſent opportunity had occur-'red to no purpoſe; vain would all our great hopes 'have been; the power of ſeizing the government 'had dropped into our hands in vain; nor ſhould I, 'depending upon daſtardly and irreſolute aſſociates, 'have hazarded certainties for uncertainties. But 'as I have, upon many important occaſions, pro-'ved your bravery and attachment to me, I have 'dared to engage in an enterprize of the higheſt 'conſequence, and the greateſt glory. It is an ad-'ditional encouragement to me, when I conſider the 'harmony of our deſires and averſions, which is the 'firmeſt bond of friendſhip.

'Now the nature of my undertaking, you have 'already heard ſeverally; and my ardor to put it 'in execution encreaſes daily, when I conſider, 'what muſt be our future lot, unleſs we recover our 'liberty. For ſince the government came under the 'power and management of a few; kings and princes

'princes have been tributary to them, and nations 'have paid them taxes; whilſt all the reſt of us 'citizens, however worthy or brave, noble or plebi-'an, have remained as a ſorry mob, without intereſt 'or authority; ſlaves to thoſe, to whom we ſhould 'be a terror, were the ſtate but in its due vigour. 'All ſway, preferment, intereſt, and riches, are 'now in their hands, or thoſe of their favourites; 'to us they have left nothing but dangers, repulſes 'from publick dignities, the terror of tribunals, 'and the buffetings of poverty. Which indignities, 'how long will ye tamely ſubmit to, ye braveſt of 'men? Is it not better to die in a brave attempt, 'than to drag a wretched and infamous life, and 'to loſe it at laſt ſhamefully, after having been the 'ſport of other mens inſolence? But I take gods 'and men to witneſs, that ſucceſs is in our hands; 'our bodies and minds are in full vigour; on the 'other hand, they are on the decline in every 'reſpect, oppreſſed with years and riches. All that 'is neceſſary, is only to make the attempt; when 'once the undertaking is ſet on foot, every thing 'elſe will follow in courſe. For who that has the 'ſpirit of a man, can bear with patience, that they 'ſhould have ſuch a ſuperfluity of riches, as to la-'viſh them, in raiſing mighty edifices on the deep, 'and levelling mountains, whilſt we have not ſo 'much as the neceſſaries of life; that they ſhould 'be multiplying their ſeats, whilſt we have no fixed 'habitation; that, tho' they are conſtantly buying 'pictures, ſtatues, and veſſels of curious workman-'ſhip, pulling down new-houſes, and building 'others; in ſhort, tho' they waſte and diſſipate their 'wealth by every extravagant method; yet, by all 'the efforts of profuſion, they are unable to exhauſt 'it. As for us, we have poverty at home, and 'debts abroad; our condition is bad, our expec-'tation much worſe; finally, what have we left,

'but a wretched life. Rouſe then to action! Behold the object you have often wiſhed for, behold liberty! and in her train, riches, glory, and honour, all full in your view! all theſe rewards fortune has prepared for the conquerors. But let the preſent conjuncture and opportunity; let your dangers, your poverty, and the glorious ſpoils of war, animate you more powerfully than any words of mine. As for me, uſe me as you pleaſe, either as a leader, or as a private ſoldier. I ſhall always be with you, both in council and execution. But I hope to act as conſul with you in this enterprize; if, after all, I am not deceived in my opinion of you, and you prefer not ſlavery to empire.'

Upon hearing this harangue, his aſſociates, who were all extremely wretched, deſtitute of every thing, and even void of every honeſt hope; though they were pleaſed with the thought of embroiling the ſtate, and even looked upon that as a great recompence; yet moſt of them deſired, that he would declare to them, upon what terms they were to engage in the war, and what were to be their rewards; what ſtrength they had to depend upon, and what hopes of ſucceſs. Then Catiline promiſed them an abolition of their debts, the proſcription of the rich; dignities, ſacred and civil; plunder, and every other advantage that the uncontrouled pleaſure of conquerors, includes. Beſides, he told them, that Piſo, and P. Sitius Nucerinus were both privy to his deſign; the former with an army in Spain, the other at the head of one in Mauritania. That C. Antonius was candidate for the conſulſhip, whom he hoped to have for his collegue, one who was his intimate, and embarraſſed with all manner of difficulties; and that in conjunction with him, he would begin the execution of his deſign, as ſoon as

they

they ſhould enter upon their office. After this he proceeded to inveigh bitterly againſt all men of worth; commended his own accomplices, and calling to every one by his name, ſome he put in mind of their poverty, others of their amours, ſeveral of their dangers and diſgraces, and many of the booty they had got, in conſequence of Sylla's victory. Then perceiving all their ſpirits elevated, he preſſed them to take care of his intereſt at the next election, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

Some there were at that time, who ſaid, that Catiline, when he had ended his ſpeech, and proceeded to adminiſter an oath to his aſſociates, preſented them all round with a bowl of human blood mixed with wine; that, when they had all taſted and ſworn, as is uſual in ſolemn ſacrifices, he diſcloſed his deſign to them; and that he did this in order to engage them more ſtrictly to mutual faith, as each was privy to the guilt of another in ſo horrible a fact. But ſome believe that this, and much more, was invented by thoſe, who thought to allay the odium which fell upon Cicero for putting the conſpirators to death, by aggravating their crimes: But I could never meet with clear evidence for ſo extraordinary a fact.

In this conſpiracy was Q. Curius, a man of no mean family, but loaded with crimes, and, as a mark of diſgrace, expelled the ſenate by the cenſors. This man had an equal ſhare of levity and audacioufneſs; whatever he heard he diſcloſed; nor could he even conceal his own crimes; in a word, he neither conſidered what he ſaid or did. There had been, for a long time, a criminal correſpondence between him and Fulvia, a lady of quality; but finding himſelf leſs agreeable to her than formerly, becauſe his poverty would not ſuffer him to

be ſo liberal; all on a ſudden he began to tempt her with great promiſes, boaſting of ſeas and mountains of wealth; ſometimes he threatned to kill her, if ſhe would not be obſequious; in a word, he behaved more haughtily than he had ever done before. When Fulvia learned the ground of this inſolent behaviour, ſhe did not conceal what threatened ſo much danger to the ſtate; but, without mentioning her author, diſcovered to many all that ſhe had heard of Catiline's conſpiracy. This diſcovery made the people zealous to confer the conſulſhip on M. T. Cicero: for before this, moſt of the nobility ſtormed thro' envy, and thought that the conſular dignity was in a manner profaned, if a new man, however deſerving, ſhould be raiſed to it. But when danger threatned, pride and envy were droped.

Accordingly, when the aſſembly for elections was held, M. Tullius and C. Antonius were declared conſuls; which was a heavy blow to the conſpirators. Catiſine's fury, however, was not in the leaſt abated; he exerted himſelf every day more and more; provided magazines of arms in all the moſt convenient places of Italy; borrowed money either on his own credit, or that of his friends, and conveyed it to Fæſulæ, to one Manlius, who firſt began the war. At this juncture, he is ſaid to have engaged in his intereſt great numbers of all ranks; and ſome women too, who had once been able to ſupport a vaſt expence by proſtitution; but, when age had leſſened their gain, tho' not their luxury, had contracted great debts. By their means, he expected to bring over to his party the city ſlaves to ſet fire to the city, and either engage their huſbands, or, in caſe of refuſal, have them ſlain.

Among theſe was Sempronia, a woman of a maſculine ſpirit, and who had often been engaged in many

many daring and hardy enterprizes. In her perſon and family, in her huſband and children, ſhe was abundantly happy; well acquainted with the Greek and Roman languages; and had more charms in muſick, and dancing, than became a virtuous woman, with many other accompliſhments ſubſervient to luxury. Indeed, there was nothing ſhe leſs valued than honour and chaſtity, and it is hard to ſay, whether ſhe ſpared her money or her reputation leaſt. So raging and violent was her luſt, that ſhe made advances to men more frequently than they did to her. She had often forfeited her faith, perjured herſelf to avoid paying her debts, been privy to murders; in a word, her extravagance and indigence had carried her to the utmoſt exceſſes of wickedneſs. Notwithſtanding all this, ſhe had a great deal of wit, could compoſe verſes, was very facetious in converſation, could talk modeſtly, tenderly, or ſatirically: In ſhort, ſhe excelled in humour and pleaſantry.

Having taken theſe meaſures, Catiline, notwithſtanding his late repulſe, declared himſelf a candidate for the conſulſhip againſt the enſuing year; in hopes, if he ſhould be choſen, of uſing Anthony as he pleaſed. Nor was he unactive in the mean time, but contriving endleſs machinations for the deſtruction of Cicero, who was not wanting in dexterity and ſubtilty to defeat them. For, from the beginning of his conſulſhip, he had ſucceſsfully employed Fulvia, to engage, by force of promiſes, Q. Curius, whom we have already mentioned, to diſcover all Catiline's deſigns: and by promiſing a province to his collegue, he had prevailed upon him not to act againſt the ſtate. Beſides, he had always about him a number of his friends and clients to guard his perſon. When the day of election came, Catiline, finding that neither his ſuit for the conſulſhip, nor his plots to cut off Cicero in the

field of Mars, had ſucceeded, determined upon open war, and to try the utmoſt extremities; ſince his ſecret attempts had ended in diſappointment and infamy.

Accordingly, he diſpatched C. Manlius to Fæſulæ and the adjacent parts of Etruria, one Septimius of Camertes to the territory of Picenum, and C. Julius into Apulia; others too he ſent to different places, juſt as he thought it ſubſervient to his purpoſe. Mean while he was making ſeveral efforts at Rome at once; laying freſh ſnares againſt the life of the conſul; contriving to ſet fire to the city; placing armed men in convenient poſts: he himſelf was conſtantly armed, and ordered his followers to be ſo too; was ever preſſing them to be upon their guard, and prepared for action; day and night he was in a hurry; lived without ſleep; and was nevertheleſs indefatigable under all his toils. At laſt, perceiving that his numerous efforts were unſucceſsful, he employed M. Porcius Læcca to ſummon together the principal conſpirators once more in the dead of night; and after having complained grievouſly of their inactivity, he informed them, that he had ſent Manlius to command a body of men, which he had prepared to take up arms; that he had likewiſe diſpatched others to different places to begin the war; and that he himſelf longed earneſtly to go to the army; if he could but firſt deſtroy Cicero; for that he greatly obſtructed all his meaſures.

Now, when all the reſt remained fearful and irreſolute, C. Cornelius, a Roman knight, and L. Vargunteius a ſenator, offered their ſervice; they agreed to go that very night to Cicero's houſe, with a few armed men, under pretence of making him a viſit, and to aſſaſſinate him by ſurprize. Curius, as ſoon

ſoon as he learned what danger threatned the conſul, diſpatched Fulvia to acquaint him with the plot; ſo that when they came, entrance was denied them, and their black attempt fruſtrated.

Mean while Manlius was exciting the people in Etruria to take arms; who, both from their poverty, and their reſentment of the injuries done them under Sylla's uſurpation, when they were deprived of their lands and all they had, were of themſelves deſirous of innovations. He likewiſe engaged robbers of all kinds, who were very numerous in that country, with ſome of Sylla's old ſoldiers too, who by their debauchery and extravagance had ſquandered away all their former acquiſitions.

Cicero, upon hearing of theſe tranſactions, was ſtruck with ſo threatning an evil; and not being able any longer to defend the city againſt the plots of the conſpirators, by his own private management; nor being apprized of the ſtrength or views of Manlius's army, laid the matter before the ſenate, which already had been the ſubject of publick converſation. Whereupon the ſenate, as was uſual in caſes of extreme danger, paſſed a decree, 'that the conſuls 'ſhould take care the ſtate ſuffered no detriment;' by which they were empowered (ſuch is the policy of the Roman government) to raiſe forces, make war, exerciſe an unlimited juriſdiction over the citizens and allies, and to bear ſovereign command both in the city and in the field; none of which things fall under their authority, without a ſpecial ordinance of the people.

A few days after, L. Lænius, a ſenator, read a letter in the ſenate, which he ſaid was brought him from Fæſulæ; acquainting him, that C. Manlius had taken arms about the latter end of October, with

with a numerous body of men. To this, ſome added, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, accounts of omens and prodigies; others related that unuſual cabals were held; arms carried to different places, and that the ſlaves were arming in Capua and Apulia. Whereupon, by a decree of the ſenate, Q. Marcius Rex was ſent to Fæſulæ, and Q. Metellus Creticus to Apulia and the adjacent parts; both theſe officers had been commanders of armies, and were waiting without the city for the honour of a triumph, which was refuſed them by the malice of a few, whoſe cuſtom it was to make ſale of every thing, honourable and infamous. The prætors too, Q. Pompeius Rufus, and Q. Metellus Celer were ſent, the one to Capua, the other to Picenum; and power was given them to raiſe forces according to the exigency of the times, and the degree of danger. Beſides, the ſenate decreed, that if any one would make any diſcovery, concerning the conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, he ſhould have, if a ſlave, his liberty, and a hundred thouſand ſeſterces; if a freeman, his pardon and two hundred thouſand. It was likewiſe decreed, that bands of gladiators ſhould be ſent to Capua, and the other municipal towns, according to the ſtrength of each; and that guards ſhould be poſted at Rome, in every quarter, under the command of the inferior magiſtrates.

With all theſe things the city was deeply affected, and aſſumed a new face; from the higheſt jollity and riot, ſuch as ſpring from a laſting peace, ſorrow of a ſudden appeared upon every countenance. There was nothing but univerſal hurry and confuſion; no place was thought ſecure; no perſon fit to be truſted; they neither enjoyed peace, nor were at war; every one meaſured the publick danger by their private fears. The women too, full of apprehenſions of war, which the great power of the ſtate had

had formerly ſecured them againſt, gave themſelves up to ſorrow and lamentation; raiſed their ſuppliant hands to heaven; bewailed their tender children; were eager for news; frighted at every thing; and laying aſide their pride and pleaſures, became anxious for themſelves and their country. Yet the cruel ſpirit of Catiline perſiſted in the ſame deſperate purſuit, notwithſtanding the preparations that were made to defeat his meaſures, and tho' he himſelf ſtood arraigned by L. Paulus, upon the Plautian law; nay, he even came to the ſenate-houſe, the better to diſſemble his deſign; as if, provoked by injurious repreſentations, he only came to clear his character. As ſoon as he appeared, the conſul Cicero, either fearing ſome bad effects from his preſence, or fired with indignation, made that flaming ſpeech *, ſo uſeful to the ſtate, which he afterwards publiſhed. As ſoon as he had ſat down, Catiline, reſolved to deny every article, with down-caſt looks and ſuppliant voice, begged of the fathers not to believe too haſtily, what was alledged againſt him; that ſuch was his birth, and ſuch had been his conduct from his youth, that he had reaſon to hope for a very favourable impreſſion from the public; and it was not to be imagined, that one of the Patrician order, whoſe anceſtors, as well as himſelf, had done ſo many ſervices to the Roman people, ſhould want to overturn the government; while Cicero, a ſtranger, and late inhabitant of Rome, was ſo zealous to defend it. As he was going on with his invectives againſt the conſul, the ſenate, raiſing a general outcry, called him traitor and parricide. Upon which, abandoning himſelf to fury and deſpair, ſince, ſays he, I am circumvented and driven headlong by my enemies, I will quench the flame raiſed about me by the common ruin.

* See appendix.

Upon

Upon this, he ruſhed out of the aſſembly, and went home; where reflecting much with himſelf, and conſidering that his deſigns againſt the conſul had proved unſucceſsful, and that it was impoſſible to ſet fire to the city, by reaſon of the guards that where placed every where; he judged it moſt adviſable to reinforce his army, and to make all neceſſary preparations for war, before the legions were raiſed; and accordingly ſet out in the dead of night, for Manlius's camp, with a few attendants. Before his departure, however, he gave inſtructions to Lentulus and Cethegus, and thoſe of his aſſociates whom he knew to be moſt daring and reſolute, to ſtrengthen the party by all poſſible means; to diſpatch the conſul as ſoon as they could; to have every thing in readineſs for the intended maſſacre, the firing of the city, and the other feats of war; promiſing, that he himſelf would, in a ſhort time, come to the city at the head of a great army.

During theſe tranſactions at Rome, C. Manlius ſent deputies to Q. Marcius Rex, with orders to accoſt him in the following manner:

'We call gods and men to witneſs, O general, 'that we have neither taken up arms againſt our 'country, nor with a view to hurt any particular 'perſon, but to defend ourſelves from injuries, 'wretched and needy as we are, through the vio'lence and cruelty of uſurers; moſt of us deprived 'of our habitations, and all of our reputation and 'fortunes; none of us allowed the protection of the 'laws, as our forefathers were, nor ſo much as the 'liberty of our perſons, when nothing elſe is left 'us; ſuch has been the cruelty of the uſurers and 'prætors. Your anceſtors, out of compaſſion to 'the people of Rome, have often relieved their wants

'wants by their decrees; and but lately in our own 'times, on account of the great preſſure of debts, 'they have obliged the creditors to compound, and 'that with the approbation of every worthy man. 'The people have often taken arms, and ſeparated 'from the ſenate, prompted either by a paſſion for 'power, or the inſolence of their magiſtrates; as 'for us, we neither deſire power nor riches, which 'are the ſources of all the wars and conteſts 'among men; liberty is our aim, that liberty 'which no brave man will loſe, but together with 'his life. Wherefore we conjure you and the ſe-'nate, to eſpouſe the intereſts of your wretched 'fellow-citizens, to reſtore to us the protection of 'the laws, torn from us by the iniquity of the præ-'tors; and not reduce us to the fatal neceſſity, of 'ſtudying to periſh in ſuch a manner, as amply to 'avenge our own blood on thoſe who have oppreſſed 'us.

To this, Q. Marcius replied, 'That if they had 'any petition to preſent to the ſenate, they muſt 'forthwith quit their arms, and repair to Rome as 'ſuppliants; that ſuch had been the clemency 'and compaſſion of the ſenate and people of Rome 'on all occaſions, that no one had ever applied to 'them in vain for relief.

Now Catiline, in his way to the camp, ſent let-ters to ſeveral perſons of conſular dignity, and in-deed to every one of diſtinguiſhed merit; repre-ſenting, 'That being beſet with falſe accuſations, 'and unable to reſiſt the faction of his enemies, he 'ſubmitted to his fortune, and was going a volun-'tary exile to Marſeilles; not that he was conſcious 'of the horrid treaſon he was charged with, but 'out of regard to the tranquility of the ſtate, and

to

'to prevent any disturbances that might arise from 'his opposition.'

But a letter of a quite different kind was read in the senate by Q. Catulus, which he declared he had received from Catiline; a copy of which here follows:

L. Catiline to Q. Catulus, health.

'YOUR great friendship to me, which I have so 'often proved when in my greatest dangers, in-'spires me with confidence to apply to you upon 'this occasion. Wherefore, I shall not offer you 'any defence of my present measures; as I am con-'scious of no guilt, I shall only make a declara-'tion of my innocence, for the truth of which I 'appeal to the gods.

'Being provoked by injuries and false accusations; 'deprived of the rewards of my services; and dis-'appointed of the dignity I sued for; I have, ac-'cording to my usual practice, undertaken the 'cause of the oppressed; not that I am urged to 'this by my debts, for my estate is sufficient to dis-'charge what I owe on my own account; and Ore-'stilla would (such is her generosity) clear all my 'engagements on account of others, out of her 'own fortune, and that of her daughters. But 'seeing men of no merit raised to the highest ho-'nours of the state, and myself set aside upon 'groundless jealousies, I have, upon this account, 'taken such measures for preserving the small re-'mains of my dignity, as my present situation will 'sufficiently justify. I should have said more to 'you; but I am just now informed, that violent 'measures are taken against me; I therefore con-'clude with recommending Orestilla to your pro-

tection;

'tection; beſeeching you, by the regard you have 'for your own children, to defend her from injuries. 'Adieu.'

Having ſtaid a few days with C. Flaminius in the territory of Reate, till he had furniſhed that neighbourhood, which had before been gained over to his party, with arms, he proceeded with the faſces, and the other enſigns of conſular authority, to Manlius's camp. When this was known at Rome, the ſenate declared Catiline and Manlius enemies to the ſtate; with pardon to ſuch of their followers, as ſhould quit their arms by a certain day, thoſe only excepted who were under ſentence for capital crimes. They likewiſe decreed, that the conſuls ſhould levy forces; that C. Antonius ſhould purſue Catiline with all expedition, and Cicero ſtay to defend the city. The Roman ſtate, at this juncture, appears to me to have been in a condition extremely deplorable; ſince, tho' all nations, from the riſing to the ſetting ſun, were reduced to its obedience; tho' peace and proſperity, the greateſt bleſſings of life, in the eſtimation of men, reigned at home; there were yet ſome of her citizens deſperately bent on their own ruin and that of the commonwealth. For, notwithſtanding the two decrees of the ſenate, not a man was found, amongſt the numerous followers of Catiline, to accept the reward, and diſcover the conſpiracy; not a ſingle perſon to deſert his camp. So ſtrong a ſpirit of diſaffection had, like a peſtilence, taken poſſeſſion of their minds.

Nor were the conſpirators, and their accomplices, the only diſaffected perſons; the whole body of the populace, from their paſſion for a revolution, approved Catiline's deſigns, nor in this did they act contrary to their uſual character. For in all ſtates, thoſe

thoſe that are poor, envy the poſſeſſions of the great; extol the extravagant, hate what they have been long accuſtomed to; long for changes; and, from a diſlike to their own condition, endeavour to throw every thing into confuſion: in times of publick diſorder and diſcord, they find their ſubſiſtence without any trouble; ſince poverty is alwas attended with this advantage, that it has nothing to loſe. But the Roman populace were become extremely degenerate from ſeveral cauſes; chiefly, becauſe all who were remarkable for wickedneſs and violence; ſuch as had ſquandered their fortunes in riot and extravagance; in a word, all they who were forced from their native country for their crimes; flocked to Rome from all quarters, as into a common ſink. Many again were continually reflecting upon Sylla's ſucceſs; whence they had ſeen ſome common ſoldiers raiſed to the dignity of ſenators, and others ſo enriched, that in pomp and ſplendor they lived like kings; and every one hoped, in caſe of a civil war, to gain the victory, and the ſame advantages from it. Beſides, the young men in the country, who were accuſtomed to earn a ſcanty ſubſiſtance by their labour, being drawn to Rome by the allurements of publick and private largeſſes, preferred the eaſe of the city to their hard labour in the fields: theſe, with all others of the like character, found their ſupport in the calamities of the ſtate. So that it is not to be wondered at, that ſuch men as theſe, oppreſſed with poverty, of diſſolute lives, and extravagant views, ſhould conſult the intereſts of the ſtate, juſt as far as they were ſubſervient to their own. They too, whoſe parents had been proſcribed, whoſe eſtates were confiſcated, and who had been deprived of the privileges of citizens, under the tyranny of Sylla, had the ſame expectations from a war as the others had. Moreover, all they who were of any party, different from that of the ſenate, wiſhed

wiſhed rather to ſee the ſtate embroiled, than themſelves without power: a mighty evil! which, after having lain dormant for many years, had again revived in the city.

For after the tribunitian authority was reſtored, under the conſulſhip of Pompey and Craſſus, certain young men, whoſe age and ſpirits were full of fire, having acquired that high dignity, began by inveighing againſt the ſenate, to enflame the populace; then by largeſſes and great promiſes, to heighten their rage, and thus gained great credit and power to themſelves.

The greateſt part of the nobility exerted their utmoſt efforts in oppoſition to them, in appearance, to ſupport the grandeur of the ſenate, but in reality, their own. For, to declare the truth in few words, all, who raiſed commotions in the ſtate in thoſe days, made uſe of ſpecious pretences; ſome, to aſſert the rights of the people; others to advance the authority of the ſenate; all to promote the publick good; whilſt every one only endeavoured to gain power to himſelf. Their conteſts were carried on without any bounds or moderation; and whatever party prevailed, made a cruel uſe of the victory.

But when Pompey was ſent againſt the pirates and Mithridates, the power of the people declined, and the whole ſway was in the hands of a few. Theſe engroſſed all publick offices, the government of the provinces, and every thing elſe; lived unaccountable themſelves, in great eaſe and ſecurity; overawed the popular magiſtrates with impeachments, and thus prevented them from ſpiriting up the people. But as ſoon as there was any hopes of a change in the ſtate; the old conteſt fired the

minds of the populace. And if Catiline had conquered in the firſt engagement, or come off but with equal loſs, great diſtreſs and calamity muſt certainly have overwhelmed the ſtate: nor would the conquerors have long enjoyed their victory; but, when they were weakened and exhauſted, whoever had moſt power, would have ſeized the government, and ſubverted liberty.

Some there were, however, who, though not concerned in the conſpiracy, yet immediately joined Cataline. Amongſt theſe was A Fulvius, the ſon of a ſenator; who was taken upon the road, brought back to the city, and put to death by his father's orders. At the ſame time Lentulus, in obedience to Catiline's orders, was endeavouring to gain over, by himſelf, or others, all ſuch as from their characters or circumſtances he thought proper to be employed in bringing about a revolution; not only citizens of Rome, but all that could bear arms.

Accordingly he employed one P. Umbrenus to apply to the deputies of the Allobroges, and engage them, if poſſible, to join in the war: for he imagined, that, as they were oppreſſed both with publick and private debts, and the whole nation of the Gauls was naturally warlike, it would be no difficult matter to perſuade them to enter into ſuch a deſign. Umbrenus, having traded in Gaul, was known to moſt of the principal men in it, and acquainted with their characters. Accordingly, without any delay, as ſoon as he ſaw the deputies in the Forum, after putting a few queſtions to them concerning the ſtate of their nation, and affecting a deep concern for their grievances, he proceeded to aſk, what iſſue they hoped for to their calamities? then perceiving that they complained of the covetouſneſs of our magiſtrates; that they enveighed againſt

againſt the ſenate for yielding them no protection; and that they expected from death alone a remedy to their miſeries; he replied, if you will only act like men, I will put you upon a method to get rid of all your preſſures. The Allobroges, upon hearing this, conceived mighty hopes, and beſought Umbrenus, to take pity upon them; for that there was no enterprize ſo difficult or dangerous, wherein they would not with the utmoſt readineſs engage, provided it would free their ſtate from ſo vaſt a load of debt. He then carried them to the houſe of D. Brutus, which joined to the Forum, and was a very proper place for ſuch a conſultation, Sempronia being an accomplice, and Brutus then from Rome. To give the greater weight to what he had to ſay, he ſent for Gabinius too, before whom he laid open to them the conſpiracy, named all who were engaged in it, and alſo many innocent perſons of every rank, to give them the greater courage: and then diſmiſſed them, after they had promiſed their aſſiſtance.

The Allobroges, however, were long in ſuſpence, what courſe to take. On one ſide were preſſing debts, a paſſion for war, and the proſpect of great advantages from victory: on the other, ſuperior power, ſafe meaſures, and inſtead of uncertain hopes, a certain recompence. While they were thus balancing, the fortune of Rome prevailed. Accordingly they diſcovered all they knew of the conſpiracy to Q. Fabius Sanga, upon whoſe patronage their nation chiefly depended. Cicero, apprized of the matter by Sanga, ordered the deputies to feign a mighty zeal for the conſpiracy, to go to the reſt of the accomplices, to promiſe largely, and endeavour to bring them under as clear conviction as poſſible.

Much about the ſame time, there were commotions in Hither and Further Gaul, in the territory of Picenum, in Brutium and Apulia. For thoſe whom Catiline had ſent thither, acted like mad-men, puſhing inconſiderately all their meaſures at once; and by their conſultations in the night time, their carrying arms to and fro, their eager haſte, and precipitate proceedings, cauſed more alarm than danger. Many of theſe, Q. Metellus Celer the prætor committed to priſon, agreeably to the decree of the ſenate; as did C. Muræna in Hither Gaul, where he was deputy-governor.

At Rome, in the mean time, Lentulus, with the other heads of the conſpiracy, preſuming upon a ſufficient force, reſolved, that as ſoon as Catiline arrived with his army in the territory of Fæſulæ, L. Beſtia the tribune ſhould aſſemble the people, inveigh againſt Cicero's conduct, and lay the blame of ſo diſtreſsful a war upon the beſt of conſuls; that, upon this ſignal, the whole body of the conſpirators ſhould, on the enſuing night, betake themſelves to the diſcharge of their reſpective parts, which were ſaid to be aſſigned them in the followiug manner. Statilius and Gabinius, with a conſiderable party, were to ſet fire at once to twelve of the moſt convenient places in the city, that in the general hurry, they might the more eaſily reach the conſul, and all thoſe whom they deſigned to aſſaſſinate. Cethegus was to force Cicero's houſe, and put him to death; whilſt others were employed elſewhere in the like manner: young men too there were, living as yet with their parents (moſtly indeed from amongſt the nobility) who were to kill their fathers; and when they had ſpread conſternation and horror every where, by flames and maſſacre, they were to march out and meet Catiline.

Whilſt

Whilſt they were thus reſolving and forming their meaſures, Cethegus was conſtantly complaining of want of ſpirit in his aſſociates; that, by their irreſolution and delay, they abuſed the faireſt opportunities; that, in ſo dangerous an enterprize, action was more neceſſary than deliberation; that for himſelf, would a few only but ſupport him, he would, notwithſtanding the cowardice of others, attack the ſenate-houſe. As he was naturally of a daring reſolute ſpirit, and brave in his perſon, he thought the ſucceſs depended upon expedition.

Now the Allobroges, according to Cicero's inſtructions, procured a meeting, by means of Gabinius, with the reſt of the conſpirators; and demanded from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and likewiſe from Caſſius, an oath ſigned ſeverally by them, to carry to their countrymen, who, otherwiſe, would not be eaſily prevailed upon to engage in an affair of ſo great importance. The reſt, ſuſpecting nothing, readily granted it: but Caſſius promiſed that he would be in their country in a ſhort time, and accordingly left Rome a little before the deputies. In company with theſe, Lentulus ſent one Volturcius of Crotona, that, before they went home, they might ratify the league with Catiline by mutual ties. He likewiſe gave Volturcius a letter for Catiline, in the following words.

'Who I am, you will learn from him whom I 'have ſent to you. Conſider your great danger, and 'remember you are a man: recollect what your 'ſituation requires: ſeek aſſiſtance from all, even 'the loweſt.'

Beſides, he gave him verbal inſtructions to expoſtulate with Catiline, 'how he could reject the aſ-

'siſtance of the ſlaves, when he was declared a pub-
'lick enemy by the ſenate:' to acquaint him like-
wiſe, 'that all preparations were made in Rome,
'according to his directions; and that he himſelf
'muſt not delay to advance.'

Upon this, Cicero, on the night fixed for the departure of the deputies, from whom he had learned all, ordered the prætor V. Flaccus, and C. Pomptinus to lie in wait for the Allobroges at the Milvian bridge, and to ſecure them. He acquainted them at the ſame time, with the reaſon of thus employing them, and left them to act as they ſhould ſee occaſion. According to orders, they poſted their guards quietly, and ſilently beſet the bridge. When the deputies and Volturcius arrived, a ſhout was ſet up on both ſides, and the Gauls ſoon underſtanding their deſign, immediately ſurrendered themſelves to the prætors. Volturcius at firſt, encouraging his companions, defended himſelf with his ſword againſt the numbers who ſurrounded him; but ſeeing himſelf forſaken by the deputies, he began earneſtly to beſeech Pomptinus as his acquaintance, to ſpare his life; at laſt, full of dread and deſpair, he ſurrender'd himſelf to the prætors, as if they had been foreign enemies.

Immediately upon this, meſſengers were diſpatched with an account of it to Cicero, who was ſeized at once with great joy and anxiety. He was glad to ſee the ſtate reſcued from ruin, by a full diſcovery of the conſpiracy; but what perplexed him, was the difficulty of knowing how to proceed againſt citizens of ſuch eminence, convicted of ſuch horrid treaſon. To puniſh them he thought would create him many enemies, and to let them paſs unpuniſhed, would ruin the ſtate; wherefore arming his mind with reſolution, he ordered Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius,

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and Gabinius to be ſummoned before him, as likewiſe Cæparius of Terracina, who was upon the point of marching to Apulia to raiſe the ſlaves. The others came immediately; but Cæparius, having gone from home a little before, and learned that all was diſcovered, had fled from the city. The conſul took Lentulus, who was then prætor, by the hand, and conducted him to the ſenate, which he had aſſembled in the temple of Concord, whither he ordered the reſt to be brought under guard. Volturcius and the deputies were introduced into a very full houſe, and Flaccus was ordered to bring the packet of letters, which he had received from them.

Volturcius being queſtioned about his journey, the packet of letters, and laſtly, what his deſign was, and from what motives he acted; made, at firſt, ridiculous pretences, affecting to know nothing of the conſpiracy. But being promiſed his pardon, upon the ſecurity of the public faith, he diſcovered every thing; and told them, that a few days before Gabinius and Cæparius had drawn him in for an aſſociate; that he knew no more than the deputies did; only he uſed to hear Gabinius ſay, that P. Autronius, Ser. Sulla, L. Vargunteius, with many more, were engaged in the conſpiracy. The Gauls gave the ſame account; they likewiſe convicted Lentulus (who pretended ignorance of the whole matter) not only by his letters, but by his common diſcourſe, 'that, according to the Sibylline oracles, 'three of the Cornelian family ſhould be ſovereigns 'of Rome; that Sylla and Cinna had been ſo already; and he himſelf was now the third, appointed by the fates to be maſter of the city; 'beſides, that the preſent was the twentieth year 'from the burning of the capitol, which the augurs, 'from ſeveral prodigies, had often foretold, would

'produce a civil war and much bloodſhed.' Upon this, the letters were read, and the criminals having acknowledged their ſignets, the ſenate decreed, that Lentulus ſhould lay down his office, and, togegether with the reſt, be kept in cuſtody. Accordingly, Lentulus was delivered to P. Lentulus Spinther, who was then ædile; Cethegus to Q. Cornificius; Statilius to C. Cæſar; Gabinius to M. Craſſus; and Cæparius (who was taken in his flight, and brought back immediately before) to Cn. Terentius, a ſenator.

Mean while the populace, which at firſt, from their paſſion for a revolution, were too fond of a civil war, upon diſcovery of the conſpiracy, changed their ſentiments; curſed the deſigns of Catiline; extolled Cicero to the ſkies; and, like people reſcued from bondage, gave themſelves up to mirth and jollity. For tho' they expected more advantage than loſs, by the ordinary events of the war; yet they looked upon the firing of the city as an inhuman, barbarous attempt, and extremely diſtreſsful to themſelves; whoſe whole ſubſtance conſiſted in what ſupported them from day to day, and what they daily wore.

The day after was brought before the ſenate one L. Tarquinius, who was going to join Catiline, as was reported, and apprehended by the way. This man offering to give a particular account of the conſpiracy, upon the ſecurity of the publick faith for his pardon, was ordered by the conſul to declare what he knew. He then gave the ſenate almoſt the ſame account Volturcius had done, of the deſign to fire the city, of the intended maſſacre of the beſt citizens, and of the march of the army to Rome; adding, that he was ſent by Craſſus, to tell Catiline, not to be diſcouraged by the apprehending

ing of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the conſpirators, but to make the greater haſte to the city, to reſcue them from danger, and revive the ſpirit of the reſt.

When Tarquinius named Craſſus, a man of high quality, great riches, and vaſt credit in the ſtate; they all called out, that he was a falſe witneſs, and deſired that it might be debated. Some thought it quite incredible, others, tho' they believed the charge to be true, yet thought that a perſon of ſo great influence ought at ſuch a juncture rather to be courted than exaſperated: beſides, moſt of the ſenators were under private obligations to Craſſus. Accordingly it was agreed in a full ſenate, at the motion of Cicero, that Tarquinius's evidence appeared to be falſe; that he ſhould be ordered to priſon, and confined till he diſcovered by whoſe advice he had framed ſo impudent a falſhood. Some there were at that time, who thought that this evidence was a contrivance of P. Autronius, that Craſſus, by being involved in the ſame danger with the reſt of the conſpirators, might protect them by his power. Others ſaid, that Tarquinius was put upon it by Cicero, to prevent Craſſus from embroiling the ſtate, by undertaking to protect villains, as was his cuſtom. I heard Craſſus indeed himſelf affirm, that this contumely was fixed upon him by Cicero.

Yet, at the ſame time, Q. Catulus and C. Piſo were not able to prevail upon Cicero, either by intereſt, importunity, or any offers whatever, to have C. Cæſar falſely accuſed by the Allobroges, or any other evidence. For both theſe gentlemen were inveterate enemies to him; Piſo, becauſe Cæſar had obtained judgment againſt him for bribery, in ſentencing to death a man beyond the Po, unjuſtly;

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Catulus was fired with reſentment, becauſe Cæſar, tho' but a young man, in their competition for the office of high-prieſt, had carried it againſt him in his old age, after having enjoyed the higheſt honours of the ſtate. Now this they thought was a favourable opportunity to bring him under ſuſpicion: for by his great liberality to private perſons, and great largeſſes to the people, he had contracted vaſt debts. But not being able to perſuade the conſul to ſo black a crime, they themſelves, by going about from man to man, and charging Cæſar with many inſtances of guilt, which they pretended to have heard from Volturcius and the Allobroges, brought great odium upon him, inſomuch, that certain Roman knights, who were poſted about the temple of Concord, as a guard to the ſenate, whether ſtruck wtih the greatneſs of the danger, or animated by a nobler principle, to teſtify their zeal for the public, threatned him as he came out of the houſe with their drawn ſwords.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in the ſenate, and rewards decreeing to the deputies of the Allobroges and Volturcius, whoſe diſcoveries were approved; the freedmen, and a few of the dependants of Lentulus, went into different parts of the city, ſome endeavouring to prevail upon the ſlaves and workmen in the ſtreets, to reſcue him by force; others ſearching after the ringleaders of the mob, who uſed for hire to raiſe commotions in the ſtate. Cethegus too, ſent meſſengers to his domeſtick ſlaves and freedmen, fellows trained up to audacious enterprizes, begging of them to form themſelves into an armed body, and come to his deliverance. The conſul, as ſoon as he received information of theſe proceedings, placed guards as the time and exigency required; and aſſembling the ſenate, deſired to know, 'what they would pleaſe to determine, concerning

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'those who were now in cuſtody? A full ſenate had indeed but lately declared them publick traitors. Then D. Junius Silanus, who was firſt aſked his opinion, as being conſul elect, voted for capital puniſhment to be inflicted, not upon the priſoners only, but likewiſe upon L. Caſſius, P. Furius, P. Umbrenus and Q. Annius, if they ſhould be apprehended: but afterwards yielding to the ſtrength of Cæſar's arguments, he declared himſelf of the ſame ſentiments with Tiberius Nero, who had propoſed that the guards ſhould be ſtrengthened, and the debate adjourned. Cæſar, when aſked by the conſul in his turn, ſpoke as follows:

'It is the duty of all men, conſcript fathers, 'in their deliberations upon ſubjects of difficult 'determination, to diveſt themſelves of hatred and 'affection, of revenge and pity. The mind, when 'clouded with ſuch paſſions, cannot eaſily diſcern 'the truth; nor has any man ever gratified his own 'headſtrong inclination, and at the ſame time an-'ſwered any valuable purpoſe. When we exerciſe 'our judgment only, it has ſufficient force; but 'when paſſion poſſeſſes us, it bears ſovereign ſway, 'and reaſon is of no avail. I could produce a 'great many inſtances of kings and ſtates purſuing 'wrong meaſures, when influenced by reſentment 'or compaſſion. But I had rather ſet before you 'the example of our fore-fathers, and ſhew how 'they acted, in oppoſition to the impulſes of paſ-'ſion, but agreeably to wiſdom and ſound policy. 'In the war which we carried on with Perſes, king 'of Macedonia, Rhodes, a mighty and flouriſhing 'city, which owed all its grandeur too to the Ro-'man aid, proved faithleſs, and became our enemy. 'But when the war was ended, and the conduct of 'the Rhodians came to be taken into conſideration, 'our anceſtors pardoned them, that none might

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'ſay the war had been undertaken more on account 'of their riches, than of injuries. In all the Pu-'nic wars too, tho' the Carthaginians, both in time 'of peace, and even during a truce, had often in-'ſulted us in the moſt outrageous manner, yet, our 'anceſtors never improved any opportunity of re-'taliating; conſidering more what was worthy of 'themſelves, than what might in juſtice be done 'againſt them.

'In like manner, conſcript fathers, ought you to 'take care, that the wickedneſs of Lentulus, and 'the reſt of the conſpirators, weigh not more with 'you, than a regard to your own honour; and that, 'while you gratify your reſentment, you do not 'forfeit your reputation. If a puniſhment indeed 'can be invented adequate to their crimes, I ap-'prove the extraordinary propoſal made; but 'if the enormity of their guilt is ſuch, that human 'invention cannot find out a chaſtiſement propor-'tioned to it, my opinion is, that we ought to 'be contented with ſuch as the law has pro-'vided.

'Moſt of thoſe who have ſpoke before me, have, 'in a pompous and affecting manner, lamented the 'ſituation of the ſtate; they have enumerated all 'the calamities of war, and the many diſtreſſes of 'the conquered; virgins raviſhed; youths unna-'turally abuſed; children torn from the embraces 'of their parents; matrons forced to bear the brutal 'inſults of victorious ſoldiers; temples and private 'houſes plundered; all places filled with flames and 'ſlaughter; finally, nothing but arms, carcaſſes, 'blood and lamentations to be ſeen.

'But, for the ſake of the immortal Gods, to 'what purpoſe were ſuch affecting ſtrains? was it

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'to raiſe in your minds an abhorrence of the con-
'ſpiracy? as if he, whom ſo daring and threat-
'ning a danger cannot move, could be enflamed by
'the breath of eloquence. No; this is not the
'way; nor do injuries appear light to any one that
'ſuffers them; many ſtretch them beyond their
'due ſize. But, conſcript fathers, different allow-
'ances are made to different perſons, when ſuch as
'live in obſcurity are tranſported by paſſion to the
'commiſſion of any offences, there are few who
'know it; their reputation and fortune being upon
'a level: but thoſe who are inveſted with great
'power, are placed upon an eminence, and their
'actions viewed by all; and thus the leaſt allow-
'ance is made to the higheſt dignity. There muſt
'be no partiality, no hatred, far leſs any reſent-
'ment or animoſity in ſuch a ſtation. What goes
'by the name of paſſion only in others, when ſeen
'in men of power, is called pride and cruelty.

'As for me, conſcript fathers, I look upon all
'tortures as far ſhort of what theſe criminals de-
'ſerve. But moſt men remember beſt what hap-
'pened laſt; and, forgetting the guilt of wicked
'men, talk only of their puniſhment, if more
'ſevere than ordinary. I am convinced, what D.
'Silanus, that brave and worthy man, ſaid, was
'from his zeal to the ſtate, and that he was neither
'biaſſed by partiality nor enmity; ſuch is his inte-
'grity and moderation, as I well know. But his
'propoſal appears to me not indeed cruel (for againſt
'ſuch men what can be cruel?) but contrary to the
'genius of our government. Surely Silanus you
'was urged by fear, or the enormity of the treaſon,
'to propoſe a puniſhment quite new. How ground-
'leſs ſuch fear is, it is needleſs to ſhew; eſpecially,
'when by the diligence of ſo able a conſul, ſuch
'powerful forces are provided for our ſecurity; and

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'as to the puniſhment, we may ſay, what indeed is 'the truth, that to thoſe who live in ſorrow and 'miſery, death is but a releaſe from trouble; that 'it is death which puts an end to all the calamities 'of men, beyond which there is no room for care 'and joy. But why, in the name of the gods, 'did not you add to your propoſal, that they ſhould 'be puniſhed with ſtripes? was it, becauſe the Por-'cian law forbids it? but there are other laws too 'which forbid the putting to death a condemned 'Roman, and allow him the privilege of baniſh-'ment. Or was it becauſe whipping is a more ſe-'vere puniſhment than death? Can any thing be 'reckoned too cruel or ſevere againſt men convicted 'of ſuch treaſon? But if ſtripes are a lighter pu-'niſhment, how is is conſiſtent to obſerve the law in 'a matter of ſmall concern, and diſregard it in one 'that is of greater?

'But you will ſay, who will find fault with any 'puniſhment decreed againſt traitors to the ſtate? 'I anſwer, time may, ſo may ſudden conjunctures; 'and fortune too, that governs the world at plea-'ſure. Whatever puniſhment is inflicted on theſe 'parricides, will be juſtly inflicted. But take care, 'conſcript fathers, how your preſent decrees may 'affect poſterity. All bad precedents ſpring from 'good beginnings; but when the adminiſtration is 'in the hands of wicked or ignorant men, theſe 'precedents, at firſt juſt, are transferred from pro-'per and deſerving objects, to ſuch as are not ſo.

'The Lacedemonians, when they had conquered 'the Athenians, placed thirty governors over them; 'who begun their power by putting to death, with-'out any trial, ſuch as were remarkably wicked, 'and univerſally hated. The people were highly 'pleaſed at this, and applauded the juſtice of ſuch

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'executions. But when they had by degrees eſta-
'bliſhed their lawleſs authority, they wantonly but-
'chered both good and bad without diſtinction;
'and thus kept the ſtate in awe. Such was the
'ſevere puniſhment, which the people, oppreſſed
'with ſlavery, ſuffered for their fooliſh joy.

'In our own times, when Sylla, after his ſucceſs,
'ordered Damaſippus and others of the like cha-
'racter, who raiſed themſelves upon the misfortunes
'of the ſtate, to be put to death, who did not com-
'mend him for it? all agreed that ſuch wicked and
'factious inſtruments, who were conſtantly em-
'broiling the commonwealth, were juſtly put to
'death. Yet this was an introduction to a bloody
'maſſacre. For whoever coveted his fellow-citizen's
'houſe, either in town or country, nay even any
'curious piece of plate, or fine raiment, took
'care to have the poſſeſſor of it put upon the liſt of
'the proſcribed.

'Thus they, who had rejoiced at the puniſhment
'of Damaſippus, were ſoon after dragged to death
'themſelves; nor was an end put to this butchery,
''till Sylla had glutted all his followers with riches.
'I do not indeed apprehend any ſuch proceedings
'from M. Cicero, nor from theſe times. But in
'ſo great a city as ours, there are various charac-
'ters and diſpoſitions. At another time, and un-
'der another conſul, who may have an army too at
'his command, any falſhood may paſs for facts;
'and when, upon this precedent, the conſul ſhall,
'by a decree of the ſenate, draw the ſword, who is
'to ſet bounds to it? who to moderate its fury?

'Our anceſtors, conſcript fathers, never wanted
'conduct nor courage; nor did they think it un-
'worthy of them to imitate the cuſtoms of other
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'nations, if they were uſeful and praiſe-worthy. 'From the Samnites they learned the exerciſe of 'arms, and borrowed from them their weapons of 'war; and moſt of their enſigns of magiſtracy from 'the Tuſcans; in a word, they were very careful 'to practiſe whatever appeared uſeful to them, 'whether amongſt their allies or their enemies; 'chooſing rather to imitate, than envy what was 'excellent.

'Now in thoſe days, in imitation of the cuſtom 'of Greece, they inflicted ſtripes on guilty citizens, 'and capital puniſhment on ſuch as were condem-'ned. But when the commonwealth became great 'and powerful, and the vaſt number of citizens 'gave riſe to factions; when the innocent began to 'be circumvented, and other ſuch inconveniences 'to take place; then the Porcian and other laws 'were made, which provided no higher puniſhment 'than baniſhment, for the greateſt crimes. Theſe 'conſiderations, conſcript fathers, appear to me of 'the greateſt weight againſt our purſuing any new 'reſolution on this occaſion. For ſurely, their vir-'tue and wiſdom, who, from ſo ſmall beginnings, 'raiſed ſo mighty an empire, far exceeds ours, 'who are ſcarce able to preſerve what they acqui-'red ſo gloriouſly. What ſhall we diſcharge the 'conſpirators, you'll ſay, to reinforce Catiline's 'army? By no means; but my opinion is this; 'that their eſtates be confiſcated; their per-'ſons cloſely confined in the moſt powerful cities of 'Italy; and that no one move the ſenate or the peo-'ple for any favour towards them, under the penalty 'of being declared by the ſenate, an enemy to the 'ſtate, and the welfare of its members.'

When Cæſar had made an end of ſpeaking, and the reſt of the ſenators, either by words or ſigns, ap-

approved or disapproved of the several proposals made; Cato, being asked his opinion, delivered it in the following speech.

'I am very differently affected, conscript fathers, 'when I view our present situation, and the danger 'we are in; and then consider with myself the pro- 'posals made by some senators who have spoke be- 'fore me. They appear to me to have reasoned 'only about the punishment of those, who have 'entered into a combination to make war upon their 'country, upon their parents, upon religion and 'private property; whereas our present circumstan- 'ces warn us rather to guard against them, than 'to consider, in what manner we shall punish them. 'You may take vengeance for other crimes after 'they are committed; but if you do not prevent 'the commission of this, when it is once accom- 'plished, in vain will you have recourse to the tri- 'bunals. When the city is once taken, no resource 'remains to the conquered citizens.

'Now I conjure you, by the immortal gods, you, 'who have always valued your fine houses in town 'and country, your pictures, your statues, more 'than the welfare of the state; if you are desirous 'to preserve these things, which, whatever their 'real value be, you are so fond of; if you would 'have leisure for pursuing your pleasures; rouze 'for once out of your lethargy, and take upon you 'the defence of the state. The debate is not about 'the publick revenues, nor the oppression of our 'allies: no; our liberties, our lives are in dan- 'ger.

'Often, conscript fathers, have I spoke in this 'house; often have I complained of the luxury and 'avarice of our fellow-citizens; upon which ac-

'count I bear the enmity of many: I, who never 'indulge myſelf in any vice, nor even cheriſhed 'the thought of any, could not eaſily pardon the 'crimes of others. And tho' you little regarded 'my remonſtrances, yet the commonwealth remai-'ned firm; her native ſtrength ſupported her, even 'under the negligence of her governors. But the 'preſent debate is not about the goodneſs or de-'pravity of our morals; nor about the greatneſs or 'proſperity of the Roman empire; no, it is whe-'ther this empire, ſuch as it is, continue our own, 'or, together with ourſelves, fall a prey to the 'enemy.

'And in ſuch a caſe, will any one talk of gen-'tleneſs or mercy? We have long ſince loſt the 'true names of things. To give away what be-'longs to others, is called generoſity; to attempt 'what is criminal, fortitude; and thence the 'ſtate is reduced to the brink of ruin. Let them, 'ſince ſuch is the faſhion of the times, be gene-'rous from the ſpoils of our allies; merciful to 'the plunderers of the treaſury; but let them not 'be prodigal of our blood, and by ſparing a few 'bad citizens, deſtroy all the good.

'C. Cæſar has juſt now ſpoke, with great ſtrength 'and accuracy, concerning life and death, taking 'for fictions, I doubt not, the vulgar notions of an 'infernal world; where the bad, ſeparated from 'the good, are confined to dark, frightful, and 'melancholy abodes. Accordingly, his propoſal is, 'that their eſtates be confiſcated, and their perſons 'confined in the corporate towns;' from an ap-'prehenſion, I imagine, that, if they were kept at 'Rome, they might be reſcued by force, either by 'their fellow-conſpirators, or a mercenary mob: 'as if wicked and profligate perſons were only to

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'be found in this city, and not all over Italy; or, 'as if there were not more encouragement to the 'attempts of the deſperate, where there is leaſt 'ſtrength to reſiſt them.

'This then is an empty propoſal, if he fears any 'danger from them; but if, amidſt this ſo great 'and univerſal conſternation, he alone is void of 'fear; ſo much the more does it concern me, to be 'afraid, both for my ſelf and you.

'Wherefore, in determining the fate of Len-'tulus, and the other priſoners, be aſſured, that 'you likewiſe determine that of Catiline's army, 'and all the conſpirators. The more vigour and 'reſolution you exert, ſo much the leſs ſpirit and 'courage will they have; but if they obſerve the 'leaſt remiſſneſs in your proceedings, they will pre-'ſently fall upon you with fury.

'Do not think, it was by arms, our anceſtors 'raiſed the ſtate, from ſo ſmall beginnings, to ſuch 'grandeur: if ſo, we ſhould have it in its higheſt 'luſtre; as having a greater number of allies and 'citizens, of arms and horſes, than they had. 'But there were other things from which they de-'rived their greatneſs, ſuch as we are intirely with-'out. They were induſtrious at home, and ex-'erciſed an equitable government abroad; their 'minds were free in council, neither ſwayed by 'crimes nor paſſion. Inſtead of theſe virtues, we 'have luxury and avarice; poverty in the ſtate, and 'great wealth in the members of it; we admire 'riches, and abandon ourſelves to idleneſs; we 'make no diſtinction between the virtuous and the 'wicked; and all the rewards of virtue are poſſeſſed 'by ambition. Nor is it at all ſtrange, whilſt each 'of you purſues his ſeparate intereſt; whilſt you

'abandon yourſelves to pleaſure at home, and here 'in the ſenate, are ſlaves to money or favour; that 'attacks are made upon the ſtate when thus forſaken. 'But no more of this.

'Romans of the higheſt quality have conſpired 'to deſtroy their country, and are endeavouring to 'engage the Gauls, the ſworn enemies of the Ro-'man name, to join them. The commander of 'the enemy is hovering over us with an army; and 'yet at this very juncture, you delay and heſitate 'how to proceed againſt ſuch of the conſpirators as 'are ſeized within your walls; would you extend 'your compaſſion towards them? be it ſo; they are 'young men only, and have offended through ambi-'tion; ſend them away armed too: what would be 'the conſequence of this gentleneſs and mercy? 'why this, when they got arms in their hands, it 'would prove your utter ruin.

'Our ſituation is indeed dangerous; but you are 'not afraid: yes, you are very much; only from 'effeminacy, and want of ſpirit, you are in ſuſ-'pence, waiting every one the motions of another; 'truſting perhaps to the immortal gods, who have 'often ſaved this commonwealth in the greateſt 'dangers. But aſſiſtance is not obtained from the 'gods by idle vows, and ſupplications like thoſe of 'women; it is by vigilance, activity, and wiſe 'counſels, that all undertakings ſucceed; if you 'reſign yourſelves to ſloth and idleneſs, it will be 'in vain to implore the aſſiſtance of the gods; you 'will only provoke them to anger, and they will 'make you feel it.

'In the days of our anceſtors, A. Manlius Tor-'quatus, in a war with the Gauls, ordered his ſon 'to be put to death, for having engaged the enemy

'with-

'without orders; and thus a young man of great 'hopes was puniſhed for too much bravery. And 'do you demur about the doom of the moſt barba-'rous parricides?

'Their preſent offence perhaps is unſuitable to 'their former character: ſhew a tender regard then 'for the dignity of Lentulus, if you find that he 'himſelf ever ſhewed any for his own chaſtity, for 'his honour, for gods or men; pardon Cethegus, in 'conſideration of his youth, if this is not the ſe-'cond time of his making war upon his country. 'For what need I mention Gabinius, Statilius, Cæ-'parius? who, if they had poſſeſſed the leaſt de-'gree of reflection, would never have embarked in 'ſuch wicked deſigns againſt the ſtate.

'Finally, conſcript fathers, were there any room 'for a wrong ſtep on this occaſion, I ſhould ſuffer 'you to be corrected by the conſequences, ſince 'you diſregard my reaſonings. But we are ſur-'rounded on all ſides: Catiline is hovering over 'our heads with an army; we have enemies within 'the walls, and in the very heart of the city. No 'preparations can be made, no meaſures taken with-'out their knowledge: hence the greater reaſon for 'diſpatch.

'My opinion then is this, that ſince by a deteſta-'ble combination of profligate citizens, the ſtate is 'brought into the greateſt danger; ſince they are 'convicted by the evidence of Volturcius, and the 'deputies of the Allobroges, and their own con-'feſſion, to have entered into a conſpiracy for de-'ſtroying their fellow-citizens and native country, by 'ſlaughter, conflagration, and other unheard of cruel-'ties; they be put to death, according to the ancient 'uſage, as being condemned by their own mouths.'

When Cato had done ſpeaking, all of conſular dignity, and the greateſt part of the ſenate indeed, applauded his opinion; extolled his reſolution to the ſkies; and reproached one another with puſilanimity. Cato was looked upon as a great and illuſtrious patriot; and a decree paſſed conformable to his propoſal.

Now as I have read and heard much of the glorious atchievements of the Roman people, in war and peace, both by ſea and land; I was very deſirous to diſcover the cauſe to which they were principally owing. I knew that they had often, with a handful of men, engaged mighty armies: I was not ignorant, that with ſmall forces they had carried on war againſt powerful princes; that they had often ſupported themſelves under the ſevere buffetings of adverſe fortune; that the Greeks ſurpaſſed them in eloquence, and the Gauls in military glory. And having duly weighed every cauſe, I was convinced, that all was owing to the great virtue of ſome particular perſons; hence it was that poverty triumphed over riches, and a handful of men prevailed over great numbers. Nay, after Rome became depraved by luxury and ſloth, the commonwealth ſtill ſupported herſelf by her native ſtrength, under the miſcarriages of her magiſtrates and generals: even when, like a mother paſt bearing, ſhe did not produce, for a long time, any citizen of diſtinguiſhed merit.

Two, however, I myſelf remember, Cato and Cæſar, both men of great abilities, but different characters; whom, as ſo fair an opportunity preſents itſelf, I would not omit taking notice of; but ſhall endeavour, in the beſt manner I am able, to diſplay the temper and manners of each.

As

As to their extraction, years, and eloquence, they were pretty nigh equal. Both of them had the ſame greatneſs of mind, both the ſame degree of glory, but in different ways; Cæſar was celebrated for his great bounty and generoſity; Cato for his unſullied integrity; the former became renowned by his humanity and compaſſion; an auſtere ſeverity heightened the dignity of the latter. Cæſar acquired glory by a liberal, compaſſionate, and forgiving temper; as did Cato, by never beſtowing any thing. In the one the miſerable found a ſanctuary; in the other, the guilty met with certain deſtruction. Cæſar was admired for an eaſy yielding temper; Cato for his immoveable firmneſs. Cæſar, in a word, had formed himſelf for a laborious, active life; was intent upon promoting the intereſt of his friends, to the neglect of his own; and refuſed to grant nothing that was worth accepting; what he deſired for himſelf, was to have ſovereign command, to be at the head of armies, and engaged in new wars, in order to diſplay his military talents. As for Cato, his only ſtudy was moderation, regular conduct, and above all, rigorous ſeverity. He did not vie with the rich in riches, nor in faction with the factious; but taking a nobler aim, he contended in bravery with the brave; in modeſty with the modeſt; in integrity with the upright; and was more deſirous to be virtuous, than appear ſo: ſo that the leſs he courted fame, the more it followed him.

When the ſenate had agreed to Cato's propoſal, as I have already related, the conſul thought it moſt expedient to put the ſentence in execution immediately, leſt any new attempt ſhould be made in the night, which was juſt at hand; and accordingly ordered the triumvirs to get every thing in readineſs

for it. He himſelf, after poſting the guards, conducted Lentulus to priſon, as the prætors did the reſt.

There is a place in the priſon, after a ſmall deſcent to the left, called Tullus's dungeon, ſunk about twelve feet underground, ſecured on all ſides with ſtrong walls, and above with an arch of ſtone; a dark, noiſome ſolitude, frightful to behold. Lentulus, being thruſt down into this place, was preſently ſtrangled by the executioners, appointed for that purpoſe. Such was the death of this noble patrician, who had borne the office of conſul, and was deſcended from the moſt illuſtrious family of the Cornelii: a death due to his life and crimes. Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cæparius, were executed in the ſame manner.

During theſe tranſactions at Rome, Catiline out of all the forces which he had carried with him, and thoſe under the command of Manlius, formed two legions; filled up the ſeveral cohorts, according to the number of his men; then diſtributing equally amongſt them all the volunteers, with thoſe who were ſent him by his aſſociates, he ſoon ſaw his legions complete; though he had at firſt but two thouſand men. But of theſe a fourth part only were compleatly armed; the reſt were furniſhed with whatever chance threw in their way; ſome had darts, ſome ſpears, and others ſharp ſtakes.

As ſoon as Antony approached with his army, Catiline betook himſelf to the mountains; one while advancing towards Rome, another towards Gaul; and by this means deprived the enemy of an opportunity of fighting him. He was indeed in daily hopes of receiving great reinforcements, if his accomplices executed their deſigns at Rome. In the mean

mean time, he refuſed to take the ſlaves into his ſervice, who flocked to him in great numbers from the very beginning; truſting to the ſtrength of the conſpiracy, and likewiſe conceiving that it would be bad policy, to appear to blend the cauſe of freemen with that of fugitive ſlaves.

But when news reached the camp, that the conſpiracy was diſcovered at Rome; that Lentulus, Cethegus, and the reſt abovementioned were put to death; moſt of thoſe, who were tempted to take arms by the hopes of ſpoil, or a paſſion for changes, preſently left him. The reſt he led by long marches over ſteep mountains into the territory of Piſtorium, with a deſign to eſcape into Ciſalpine Gaul by obſcure roads.

Q. Metellus Celer, who at that time commanded three legions in the territory of Picenum, judged that Catiline, in his preſent difficulties, would take this very courſe. Accordingly, having learned from his deſerters, what rout he had taken, he immediately decamped, and poſted himſelf at the foot of the mountains, juſt where Catiline was obliged to paſs in his way to Gaul. Nor was Antony far behind, who purſued the flying rebels, through ways more level, at the head of a great army. When Catiline ſaw himſelf encloſed by the mountains, and the enemies troops; that his deſigns had miſcarried in the city; that there was neither hope of eſcaping nor receiving any ſuccour; he thought his beſt way, in ſuch a ſituation, was to try the fortune of a battle, and determined to engage Anthony as ſoon as poſſible. Accordingly, aſſembling his troops, he ſpoke to them in the following manner;

'I have learned by experience, fellow-ſoldiers, 'that words cannot inſpire courage, nor a general's 'ſpeech render a ſpiritleſs and timorous army, brave 'and intrepid. Every man diſplays in battle, juſt 'ſo much courage as nature or habit has given him, 'and no more. It is to no purpoſe to exhort him, 'whom neither glory nor danger can animate; his 'fear deprives him of his hearing. I have aſſem-'bled you, fellow-ſoldiers, to inſtruct you in a few 'particulars, and to lay before you the grounds of 'my final reſolution.

'You all know, what a dreadful calamity Len-'tulus by his ſlow and ſpiritleſs conduct has brought 'upon himſelf and us; and how I have been pre-'vented from marching into Gaul, by waiting for 'reinforements from Rome. In what poſture our 'affairs now are, you all ſee, as well as I. Two 'armies, one from Rome, another from Gaul, ob-'ſtruct our motions. Want of proviſions, and other 'neceſſaries, will not allow us to make any longer 'ſtay here, were we ever ſo deſirous of doing it. 'To what place ſoever you think of marching, you 'muſt open yourſelves a paſſage with your ſwords. 'I conjure you then to ſummon up all your courage; 'to act like men reſolute and undaunted; to re-'member when you engage, that you carry in your 'hands riches, honour, and glory; nay, even your 'liberty and your country. If we overcome, all 'will be ſafe; we ſhall have plenty of proviſions; 'the corporate towns and colonies will be all ready 'to receive us. But if we flinch through fear, the 'very reverſe will be our fate; nor will any place or 'friend protect thoſe, whom arms could not. Let 'me add to this, my fellow-ſoldiers, that we have 'different motives to animate us, from what the 'oppoſite army has. We fight for our country,

'for

'for our liberty, for our lives; they, for no intereſt 'of their own, but only to ſupport the power of a 'few. Let this conſideration then, engage you to 'fall upon them the more courageouſly, remem- 'bring your former bravery.

'We might indeed, have paſſed our days, with 'the utmoſt infamy, in baniſhment: ſome of you 'too might have lived at Rome, depending, for 'your ſubſiſtence upon others, after having loſt your 'own eſtates. But ſuch a condition appearing in- 'famous and intolerable to men of ſpirit, you re- 'ſolved upon the preſent courſe; which if you de- 'ſire to leave, you muſt exert your courage: none 'but a conqueror hath ever exchanged war for peace. 'For to hope for ſecurity from flight, when you 'have turned from the enemy the arms which ſerve 'to defend you, is the height of madneſs. In bat- 'tle, the moſt timorous are always in moſt danger: 'courage is a wall of defence. When I conſider 'your characters, fellow-ſoldiers, and reflect upon 'your paſt atchievements, I have great hopes of 'victory: your ſpirit, your age, your virtue, en- 'courage me; and our neceſſity too, which even in- 'ſpires cowards with bravery. For the ſtreightneſs 'of our ſituation will prevent the enemies numbers 'from ſurrounding us. But ſhould fortune envy 'your bravery, be ſure you fall not, without taking 'due vengeance upon the enemy; ſuffer not your- 'ſelves to be taken and butchered like cattle; but 'fight rather like men, and leave the enemy a bloody 'and mournful victory.'

Pauſing a little after this ſpeech, he ordered to ſound to battle; and led down his forces in their ranks to the plain. Then, ſending away all the horſes, in order to encourage his men the more, by making the danger of all equal; he himſelf, on foot,

drew

drew up his army in order of battle, according to its number and the nature of the place. For as there lay a plain on his left, bounded by the mountains, and a ſteep rock on his right, he placed eight cohorts in his front, and the reſt he poſted in cloſer order to ſupport them.

From amongſt theſe, he drew out the choiceſt centurions, the honorary veterans, and the braveſt and beſt armed of the common ſoldiers, and placed them in the front. He appointed C. Manlius to command the right, and a native of Fæſulæ the left; he himſelf with his freedmen, and ſuch troops as he had raiſed in the colonies, ſtood by the eagle; the ſame which C. Marius was ſaid to have had in his army in the Cimbrian war.

On the other ſide, C. Antony, being hindered by the gout from being preſent at the engagement, gave the command to M. Petreius his lieutenant-general.

He poſted the veteran cohorts, which he had raiſed on this occaſion, in the front; and the reſt of his army behind them, as a body of reſerve. He himſelf rode from rank to rank, and addreſſing himſelf to his men by their names intreated and conjured them, 'to remember that they were now 'to engage againſt unarmed robbers, in defence of 'their gods, their country, their children and their 'property.' As he was an old ſoldier, having ſerved in the army upwards of thirty years, as tribune, præfect, lieutenant-general, or prætor, and that with diſtinguiſhed renown; he knew moſt of the ſoldiers, and their gallant actions; and by calling theſe to remembrance, he rouſed their courage.

Pe-

Petreius, having taken all his meaſures with the utmoſt precaution, ſounded to battle, and ordered his cohorts to advance ſlowly: the enemy did the ſame. But when they were come near enough for the light armed ſoldiers to begin the fight; they ſet up a mighty ſhout, ruſhed with great fury into a cloſe engagement, and, laying aſide their darts, made uſe of their ſwords only. The veterans, mindful of their former bravery, preſſed vigorouſly upon the rebels, who made a bold reſiſtance; ſo that the fight was maintained with great obſtinacy. Catiline was all the while in the firſt line, at the head of a light armed body; ſuſtaining ſuch as were ſeverely preſſed; putting freſh men in the room of thoſe that were wounded; providing for every exigence, often charging the enemy in perſon; and performing at once the duty of a brave ſoldier, and a great commander.

Petreius, when he found that Catiline, contrary to his expectations, exerted himſelf with great vigour, brought up the Prætorian cohort againſt his main body, broke their ranks, and made great ſlaughter of them, as he did likewiſe of the others who maintained their ground elſewhere. Then he fell upon both the wings at once. Manlius and the other officer from Fæſulæ were both killed, fighting in the foremoſt rank. Catiline, when he ſaw his forces routed, and himſelf left with a few only; mindful of his birth, and former dignity, ruſhed headlong into the thickeſt of the foe, where he fell, covered with wounds, and fighting to the laſt.

When the engagement was ended, it evidently appeared, with what undaunted ſpirit and reſolution Catiline's army was fired. For the body of every one was found upon that very ſpot, which, during the

the battle he had fought from; thoſe only excepted, who were forced from their poſts by the prætorian cohort; and even they, though they fell a little out of their ranks, were all wounded before. Catiline himſelf was found, far from his own men, amidſt the dead bodies of the enemy, breathing a little, with an air of that fierceneſs ſtill in his face, which he had when alive. Finally, in all his army, there was not ſo much as one free citizen taken priſoner, either in the engagement or in the flight; for they ſpared their own lives as little as tho e of the enemy. The army of the republic obtained the victory indeed, but it was neither a cheap nor a joyful one; for their braveſt men were either ſlain in battle, or dangerouſly wounded. As there were many too, who went to view the field, either out of curioſity, or a deſire of plunder, in turning over the dead bodies, ſome found a friend, ſome a relation, and ſome a gueſt; others there were likewiſe who diſcovered their enemies: ſo that through the whole army, there appeared a mixture of gladneſs and ſorrow, joy and mourning.

THE

THE ORATIONS OF CICERO, AGAINST CATILINE.

THE FIRST
ORATION
AGAINST
CATILINE.

Spoken in the SENATE.

HOW far, Catiline, wilt thou abuſe our patience? How long are we to be braved and inſulted by thy frantic rage? How far doſt thou intend to puſh thy inſolent and deſperate guilt? Art thou not ſtruck by the troops poſted by night to ſecure the Palatium? not ſtruck by the city guards? not by the conſternation of the people? not by the unanimity of every worthy Roman? not by our aſſembling in this place of ſtrength? not by the looks and countenances of the fathers of Rome? Doſt thou not perceive that all thy black deſigns are brought to light? art thou ignorant that the ſenators are thoroughly apprized of thy conſpiracy, and thereby all thy guilty meaſures diſconcerted and reſtrained? Which of us all, doſt thou imagine, is unacquainted with thy laſt night's practices? which of us with thoſe of the night preceding? who amongſt us does not know the aſſociates that were then ſummoned by thee, the place of meeting, and the meaſures concerted?

Alas for our degeneracy! alas for the depravity of the times! The ſenate knows, the conſul beholds all this; yet the traitor lives! lives? nay, he mixes with the ſenate, takes part in our counſels, and with his looks marks us out ſeverally for deſtruction; whilſt we, brave men! think we diſ-

charge our duty to the ſtate, if we can but eſcape his rage and devouring ſword. Long ſince, Catiline, ſhould the conſul have ordered thee to execution, and diſcharged upon thy own guilty head, the vengeance thou haſt been long meditating againſt us all. Could that noble Roman, Publius Scipio, chief pontiff, but without any magiſtracy, kill Tiberius Gracchus for endeavouring, tho' without any violent methods, to undermine the government? And ſhall we conſuls ſuffer Catiline to live, who is bent upon laying waſte the world with ſlaughter and conflagration? I omit, as too remote, the example of Q. Servilius Ahala, who, with his own hand, put to death Spurius Melius, for meditating a revolution in the ſtate. Such, ſuch, I ſay, was the brave ſpirit, with which this republic was once animated, that far more ample vengeance was taken upon a peſtilent citizen, than the moſt inveterate publick enemy. We have, Catiline, a weighty and awful decree of the ſenate againſt thee; the ſtate wants not wiſdom, nor this aſſembly due authority; we only, we the conſuls, I ſpeak it openly, are wanting in our duty.

Formerly, when the ſenate decreed that L. Opimius, the conſul, ſhould take care, 'the common-'wealth received no detriment;' not a night paſſed, before C. Gracchus was put to death, for being ſuſpected of ſedition, though he was deſcended of a father, grandfather, and anceſtors, all highly diſtinguiſhed for their ſervices to the ſtate: Marcus Fulvius too, a perſon of conſular dignity, ſhared the ſame fate, he, and his children. When, by a like decree, the care of the ſtate was committed to C. Marius and L. Valerius the conſuls, did not L. Saturninus, tribune of the people, and C. Servilius, prætor, fall an immediate ſacrifice to the juſtice of their country, without the intervention of a ſingle day? But

But we, for the ſpace of twenty days, have ſuffered the ſenate's authority to loſe its edge in our hands. For we too have a like decree, but it reſts amongſt the archives like a weapon in its ſheath; a decree, Catiline, by which thou art juſtly doomed to immediate death. Yet ſtill thou liveſt, and liveſt not to lay aſide thy audacious guilt, but to harden thyſelf in it.

Mercy, conſcript fathers, is what I am heartily diſpoſed to; I am likewiſe diſpoſed, whilſt ſuch terrible danger threatens my country, not to appear remiſs in its cauſe, yet now my conſcience condemns me for my inactivity and negligence. An army againſt the republick is already incamped in Italy, upon the borders of Etruria: the enemy's numbers daily increaſe; their leader we behold within our walls, nay, amidſt this aſſembly, plotting daily the ruin of the ſtate. Should I order thee, Catiline, to be ſeized inſtantly, to be dragged to execution, none, I apprehend, would blame me for being too cruel, but rather, I am afraid, every worthy man for being too ſlow. Yet this very thing, which ſhould long ſince have been done, I have certain reaſons for poſtponing ſtill. Thou ſhalt then be put to death, when not a man is to be found ſo wicked, ſo deſperate, ſo like thy ſelf, who will deny it to be done juſtly. While there is one who dares to defend thee, thou ſhalt live, and live ſo as thou now doſt, beſet with numerous and powerful guards, which I have placed about thee, ſo as not to ſuffer thee to ſtir a foot againſt the republic; whilſt the eyes and ears of many ſhall watch thy motions, as they have hitherto done, though thou perceiveſt it not.

What is it, Catiline, thou canſt now have in view, when neither the ſhades of night can conceal thy

traiterous aſſemblies, nor thy domeſtic walls prevent the voice of thy treaſon from being heard? If all thy counſels are detected, all thy meaſures expoſed to full view; take my advice, and relinquiſh thy black purpoſes, drop the thoughts of fires and maſſacres: thou art beſet on all hands, all thy proceedings are clearer than the day; as will appear if you attend to the detail I am now to give.

Thou mayſt remember, what I ſaid in the ſenate, on the kalends of November, that on the fourth day following, Caius Manlius, the creature and aſſociate of thy guilt, would appear in arms. Was I deceived, Catiline, in foretelling not only ſo enormous, ſo deteſtable, ſo incredible an attempt, but, what is ſtill more ſurprizing, the very day on which it was to be made? I likewiſe declared in the ſenate, that thou hadſt fixed the maſſacre of the chief men of Rome for the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month; a time, when many Romans of high rank left Rome, not ſo much for their own ſafety, as for the ſake of baffling thy traiterous deſigns. Canſt thou deny, that, on that very day, thou waſt ſo beſet by my vigilance, and by guards of my placing, that it was altogether out of thy power to make the leaſt attempt againſt the ſtate; when thou hadſt given out, that, tho' the reſt had made their eſcape, thou wouldſt content thyſelf with the blood of thoſe who remained? Nay, when thou hadſt confidently flattered thyſelf with ſurprizing Præneſte by night, on the kalends of November; didſt thou not perceive that colony to be ſecured by my garriſons, by my orders, and by my vigilance? Thou doſt nothing, thou attempteſt nothing, thou meditateſt nothing, but what I hear, ſee, and plainly perceive.

Turn back thy eyes, together with me, upon the tranſactions of laſt night, and thou wilt ſee, that

that I am more vigilant for the preſervation, than thou art for the deſtruction of the ſtate. Laſt night then, I ſay, thou didſt meet thy aſſociates in the ſame guilt and frenzy, at the houſe (I ſpeak it openly) of M. Lecca, in the ſtreet called the Reapers. Dareſt thou deny this? why art thou ſilent? If thou diſowneſt it, I will prove it; for I ſee ſome in this very aſſembly, who accompanied thee.

Immortal powers! what country do we inhabit? what government are we ſubject to? what city do we live in? Here, here, conſcript fathers, within theſe very walls, and in this aſſembly (an aſſembly, the moſt awful and venerable upon earth) there are perſons who are plotting my ruin and yours, who are meditating the deſtruction of the ſtate, and, conſequently, of the world itſelf. Theſe men I ſee; ſee them, whilſt I am inveſted with conſular authority, and aſk their opinions concerning the public; and, inſtead of dooming them to execution, as I ought to have done, I do not as yet wound their characters.

That night then, Catiline, thou heldeſt a meeting at the houſe of Lecca; didſt canton out all Italy; didſt aſſign every one his ſtation; didſt ſingle out ſuch as were to be left at Rome, and ſuch as were to accompany thee; didſt mark out thoſe parts of the city that were to be ſet on fire; didſt declare thy fixed purpoſe to leave it ſoon; adding, that my being ſtill alive, occaſioned a ſhort delay: Two Roman knights immediately undertook to deliver thee from that uneaſineſs, and promiſed to aſſaſſinate me in my bed before the day ſhould dawn. All this I learnt, almoſt before the aſſembly was broke up: I ſtrengthned my houſe with an additional guard; I cauſed admittance to be refuſed to thoſe who came to compliment me in

the morning; and they were the very perſons, who, I had foretold to many worthy men, would come at that very time.

This then, Catiline, being the ſituation of thy affairs, execute thy purpoſe; leave the city; her gates ſtand open; march forth. Thy forces, in the camp of Manlius, are impatient for their leader: take with thee all thy confederates, if not all, at leaſt as many as poſſible; and thus purge the city. Then ſhall I be delivered from terrible fears, when our walls have once ſeparated between me and thee: here thou canſt no longer ſtay; 'tis what I will never allow, never bear, never endure.

Great thanks are ſurely due to the immortal gods; and, above all, to Jupiter Stator, the moſt ancient guardian of our city, for having ſo often ſaved us from this dreadful, this deteſtable, this peſtilent ſcourge of his country. Certainly the ſafety of the ſtate is not again and again to be expoſed to hazard for the ſake of one of its members.

Whilſt conſul elect, Catiline, I guarded againſt the ſnares that were laid by thee for my life, by my own private vigilance, without any aſſiſtance from the public. During the laſt election of conſuls, when thou diſt endeavour to aſſaſſinate me, and thy competitors, in the field of Mars, I baffled thy bloody attempt, by the aid of my friends alone, without diſturbing the publick peace: in a word, as often as thou haſt aſſaulted me, I have oppoſed thee ſingly; though I plainly ſaw, that my death was inſeparably connected with the utter ruin of the public. Thou doſt now openly attack the whole ſtate; the temples of the immortal gods; all the dwellings in Rome, together with the lives of her

her citizens; and even doomeſt all Italy to ſlaughter and deſolation.

Since I dare not, therefore, purſue ſuch meaſures on this occaſion, as are agreeable to primitive diſcipline, and the genius of our ſtate; I will have recourſe to an expedient more conducive to the publick good, tho' leſs ſevere to the criminal. For ſhould I pronounce ſentence of death upon thee, thy band of aſſociates will ſtill continue in the ſtate; but if thou leaveſt the city, as I have often exhorted thee to do, that baneful ſink of thy guilty accomplices will be drained from it.

What Catiline? doſt thou heſitate to do at my command, what thou waſt ready to do of thy own accord? The conſul orders an enemy to depart from the city. Into baniſhment then, doſt thou aſk? I do not order it, but if my opinion is deſired, I adviſe it.

What is there, Catiline, that can give thee pleaſure in this city, where, if I except thy own abandoned train of profligates, there is not a man to be found who does not fear, not one who does not abhor thee? What new domeſtic ſtain can be added to ſully thy character? what perſonal reproach art thou not branded with? what ſcenes of lewdneſs have not thy eyes beheld? what crime can be named which thy hands have not perpetrated? what foul abomination is there, wherewith thou haſt not defiled thyſelf? Among all the numerous youth entangled by thee, in the ſnares of debauchery, is there one, whom thou haſt not armed for the moſt audacious efforts of bloody violence? one whom thou haſt not prompted to luſt and ſenſuality?

But what do I ſay? even lately, when, by procuring the death of thy former wife, thou hadſt made room in thy houſe for another, didſt thou not aggravate even that crime by another more ſhocking and unparallelled? But this I draw a veil over, and willingly leave it to reſt in ſilence; that the memory of ſo horrible a crime may be loſt, or, at leaſt, of its having been committed with impunity. I likewiſe omit mentioning the utter loſs of thy fortune, which, thou art ſenſible, muſt befal thee the very next month, and proceed to ſuch things as bear no relation to thy perſonal infamy, to thy private reproach and diſtreſsful circumſtances; but ſuch as concern the very being of the ſtate, together with the lives and ſafety of us all.

Can the light of the day, Catiline, or the vital air thou breatheſt, afford thee any pleaſure? when thou art conſcious there is not one preſent but knows, that, on the laſt of December, during the conſulſhip of Lepidus and Tullus, thou didſt appear in the Comitium, armed with a dagger; that thou hadſt got together a band of ruffians, to aſſaſſinate the conſuls, and the greateſt men in Rome; and that this frantic and traiterous attempt was diſappointed by no awe, by no remorſe in thee, but by the good fortune of the Roman ſtate.

But I paſs over theſe things, they are but too well known; others there are of a later date. How often didſt thou attempt to murder me, when I was conſul elect? how often haſt thou attempted it, ſince I have been raiſed to the conſulate? How many thruſts of thine have I eſcaped, by gently ſlipping aſide a little, even when they were ſo well aimed as to ſeem inevitable? There is nothing thou doſt, nothing thou deſigneſt, nothing thou contri-

veſt,

veſt, but what I have timely notice of; yet thou art continually plotting, continually making efforts. How often has that dagger of thine been wreſted from thine hands? how often has it dropt by accident to the ground? yet thou canſt not be without it. I cannot conceive, by what rites thou haſt conſecrated and devoted it, that thou thinkeſt thyſelf obliged to lodge it in the conſul's breaſt.

What now is thy ſituation? for I will here ſpeak to thee, not in the ſpirit of hatred, for which I have ſo juſt cauſe, but in that of compaſſion, which thou ſo ill deſerveſt. Upon thy coming into the ſenate a little while ago, who of all this full aſſembly, who of all thy numerous friends and relations, offered to ſalute thee? If there is no inſtance on record of ſuch treatment ſhewn to any man before, doſt thou next expect open reproach, after having received thy doom from ſuch awful ſilence? didſt thou not ſee all the benches left empty at thy approach? didſt thou not obſerve, that all thoſe of conſular dignity, whom thou hadſt ſo often marked out for ſlaughter, forſook their ſeats, upon thy taking thine, and left that whole quarter ſolitary?

How canſt thou bear with all this? As for me, I declare, that did my ſlaves dread me, as all thy fellow citizens do thee, I ſhould think it moſt expedient to leave my houſe; and doſt thou think that thou ſhouldſt not leave the city? Or, if I ſaw myſelf equally expoſed to the diſtruſt and abhorrence of my countrymen, tho' without juſt grounds; I would rather chuſe to withdraw from their ſight, than be looked at by all with eyes full of hatred and revenge: and doſt thou, who art conſcious to thyſelf, of having long deſerved the deteſtation of all men, heſitate a moment to fly from the looks and company of a people, whoſe minds, whoſe eyes are ſhocked with the

ſight

ſight of thee? ſhould thy natural parents dread thee, and bear thee irreconcileable hatred, thou wouldſt, I imagine, retire from their preſence; but now thy country, the common parent of us all, hates and dreads thee; and has long looked upon thee as a parricide, meditating nothing but her final deſtruction: and wilt thou neither revere her authority, ſubmit to her judgment, nor ſtand in awe of her power? This parent, Catiline, ſeems thus to reaſon with thee:

'Not an enormity has happened, for theſe many 'years, but what has had thee for its author; not a 'crime, but what has been committed by thee. 'Thou alone haſt murdered ſo many of our citi-'zens; thou alone haſt plundered and oppreſſed our 'allies, with impunity, and unreſtrained violence; 'thou alone haſt found means not only to trample 'upon law and juſtice, but even utterly to ſubvert 'them. Theſe paſt enormities, tho' beyond all 'bearing, have I yet borne with in the beſt manner 'I could; but now, to live in continual dread of 'thee alone; upon every alarm, to have Catiline 'for the object of publick terror; that no ſcheme 'can be formed againſt me, how black, how vil-'lainous ſoever, thy wicked heart would not engage 'in, is quite intolerable. Be gone then; deliver 'me from my apprehenſions; that, if they are juſt, 'I may avoid ruin; if groundleſs, I may, for once, 'lay aſide my fears.'

Should thy country thus accoſt thee, ought ſhe not to prevail with thee, tho' ſhe could not force thee? But why do I talk of prevailing with thee? doſt thou not offer thyſelf to be kept in cuſtody? didſt thou not declare, that, to avoid ſuſpicion, thou wouldſt live confined in the houſe of Lepidus? Upon his refuſing to receive thee, thou hadſt impudence

pudence enough to intreat me to ſecure thee at my houſe; when I made anſwer, that I could by no means live ſafely in the ſame houſe with thee, when I was in ſo great danger from being in the ſame city with thee, thou didſt then apply to Q. Metellus, the prætor; upon his refuſing to comply with thy requeſt, application was made by thee to thy companion M. Marcellus, that worthy perſon, one who, without doubt, thou didſt imagine would confine thee very carefully, be very ſagacious in diſcovering all thy ſchemes, and reſolute in bringing thee to juſtice. Now how far ſhould that man be from chains and a priſon, who has already owned that he deſerves to be kept in cuſtody?

If ſo then, Catiline, if thou canſt not reconcile thyſelf to the thoughts of dying here, doſt thou heſitate to retire into ſome other country, there to ſpend, in exile and ſolitude, the remainder of a life, ſo often and ſo juſtly forfeited to thy country's juſtice? But, ſayſt thou, put the queſtion to the ſenate. This thou deſireſt, and declareſt thy readineſs to obey, if thou art ordered into baniſhment. I will put no ſuch queſtion, it is contrary to my temper: yet I will let thee ſee the ſentiments of this aſſembly concerning thee: 'Leave this city, Catiline, 'deliver the commonwealth from her fears; go, if 'thou wilt have me ſay it, into baniſhment.' What thinkeſt thou now, Catiline? doſt thou obſerve their behaviour? doſt thou mark their ſilence? They hear me patiently, they ſay nothing: why doſt thou expect an explicit declaration of their ſentiments, when thou perceiveſt them by their ſilence?

Had I ſpoke this to that worthy youth P. Sextius, or to the brave M. Marcellus, the ſenate would have riſen up againſt me, and laid violent hands upon their conſul, in this very temple; and juſtly too.

But

But when I ſay it to thee, Catiline, by their ſilence they approve it; by their ſuffering it, they decree it; by ſaying nothing, they proclaim their conſent. Nor is it thus with the ſenators alone, whoſe authority thou affecteſt to regard, whilſt thou makeſt no account of their lives, but with the brave and worthy Roman knights, and other gallant citizens, who now guard the avenues of the ſenate; whoſe numbers thou mighteſt juſt now have ſeen, whoſe affection for the ſtate thou mighteſt have obſerved, whoſe acclamations thou mighteſt have heard; and whom I have long, with difficulty, reſtrained from doing thee violence. Yet with all theſe will I eaſily prevail to attend thee quietly to the gates, ſhouldſt thou conſent to leave this city, which thou haſt ſo long deſtined to deſolation.

But why do I talk? Is it to be expected, that thou ſhould'ſt alter thy purpoſe? that thou ſhould'ſt ever reform? that thou ſhould'ſt meditate any flight? that thou ſhouldſt entertain a thought of baniſhment? May the immortal gods inſpire thee with ſuch a reſolution! Tho' I am ſenſible, ſhould my words frighten thee into baniſhment, what a ſtorm of party rage I ſhall draw upon myſelf, if not at preſent, whilſt the memory of thy guilt is freſh, yet, ſurely in future times. This, however, I can ſubmit to, provided the calamity falls upon myſelf alone, without extending to my country. But to be moved with a ſenſe of thy crimes; to be awed by the rigour of the laws; to yield to the exigencies of the ſtate, are things not to be required of thee: for thou art not ſuch a perſon, Catiline, as to be reclaimed by ſhame from diſhonourable purſuits, or by fear from danger, or by reaſon from madneſs.

As I have already often ſaid, then, be gone: and if thou would'ſt load me, whom thou giveſt out to

to be thy enemy, with popular odium, go ſtreight into baniſhment; if thou doeſt this, I ſhall ſcarce be able to bear up againſt the cenſures that will be paſſed upon me; ſcarce ſuſtain the weight of publick indignation, if, at the conſul's command, thou ſhouldſt retire into exile. But if thou wouldſt raiſe the glory of my name, march off with thy abandoned crew; go to Manlius? rouſe every deſperate Roman to rebel; ſeparate thyſelf from the virtuous; make war upon thy country; exult and riot in thy impious depredations; thus will it appear, that thou was not caſt out by me to foreigners, but invited out to thy friends.

But why do I incite thee to this, when I know that thou haſt ſent forward a body of armed men to wait thy coming at the Forum Aurelium? when I know the day of meeting is agreed upon, between thee and Manlius; when I know, that thou haſt ſent off that ſilver eagle, to which thou haſt erected altars in thy houſe, where to conſecrate thy crying enormities, and which I truſt will prove fatal to thee and thine. Canſt thou be ſo long without this divinity of thine, to which thou was wont to addreſs thy homage, before thou didſt enter upon any bloody enterprize; and after employing thy impious hands in the worſhip of which thou haſt often dyed them in the blood of thy fellow-citizens?

Thus at length wilt thou go whither thy frantick and impetuous rage hath been long hurrying thee; a conſideration, which, inſtead of filling thee with anguiſh, gives thee exquiſite delight. For ſuch deſperate undertakings nature hath formed thee, thy inclination trained thee, and thy fate reſerved thee. Quiet was never thy delight, no, nor war, unleſs unjuſt and deſtructive: the forces thou haſt raiſed

raiſed are compoſed of abandoned wretches, not only without fortune, but without hope. Amongſt theſe what joys muſt thou taſte! what tranſports muſt fill thy mind! in what pleaſures muſt thou revel! when in ſo great a multitude, all devoted to thy ſervice, thou wilt neither ſee the face, nor hear the voice of an honeſt man. To qualify thee for the enjoyment of ſuch a life, thou haſt undergone the toils which commonly go by thy name, ſuch as lying upon the ground, not only in purſuit of lewd amours, but of hardy enterprizes; ſuch as thy vigilance too, not only to injure the ſleeping huſband, but to ſpoil the ſecure citizen. Thou haſt now an opportunity of exerting all that boaſted patience of hunger, cold and want, by which thou wilt ſoon find thyſelf undone. So much did I gain by diſappointing thee of the conſulſhip, that the ſtate ſhould be expoſed not to thy tyranny as a conſul, but to thy vain efforts as an exile: and that thy impious undertaking might be called not ſo much a war, as the attempt of a robber.

Now, conſcript fathers, that I may obviate a complaint which my country might, with too great appearance of juſtice, raiſe againſt me, attend carefully, I beſeech you, and treaſure up diligently in your minds, what I am going to advance. For were my country, that country which is far dearer to me than my life, were all Italy, were the whole ſtate thus to accoſt me; 'Marcus Tullius, what art 'thou doing? wilt thou ſuffer him to eſcape from 'the city, whom thou haſt found to be a publick 'enemy? whom thou ſeeſt ready to conduct the war 'againſt the ſtate? whom thou knoweſt our enemy 'expects in the camp as their leader in chief? The 'author of this black and villainous enterprize? 'the chief of the conſpiracy? the guilty wretch who 'enliſts every abandoned citizen and ſlave? wilt

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'thou ſuffer him to eſcape, that he may not ſeem ſo 'much to be driven by thee from the city, as ſent 'againſt it? wilt thou not order him to be loaded 'with chains, not doom him to immediate death, 'not ſubject him to the moſt rigorous puniſhment? 'What is it that reſtrains thee? Is it the cuſtom of 'our anceſtors, when it is well known, that private 'perſons have often in this ſtate put peſtilent citizens 'to death? Is it the law concerning the puniſhment 'of Roman citizens; when in Rome, thoſe who have 'proved traitors to the ſtate, have always forfeited 'the rights of citizens? Art thou afraid of the re-'proaches of poſterity? a noble proof, indeed, of 'thy gratitude to the Roman people, for having 'raiſed thee, a new man, without any recommen-'dation from thy anceſtors, through all the degrees 'of honour to ſovereign dignity; if, from fear of 'reproach or any danger whatever, thou neglecteſt 'the care of the public ſafety. But if cenſure be 'what thou dreadeſt, which is moſt to be apprehen-'ded, the cenſure incurred for having acted with 'juſtice and reſolution, or that for having acted with 'injuſtice and puſilanimity? when Italy ſhall be 'ravaged by war, her cities oppreſſed, her dwellings 'on fire, doſt thou imagine that the flames of pub-'lick indignation will not devour thee?'

To this moſt ſacred voice of my country, and to all thoſe who entertain the ſame ſentiments, I ſhall make a ſhort reply: Had I thought it moſt adviſe-able, conſcript fathers, to put Catiline to death, I would not have allowed that gladiator the uſe of one moment's life. For if, in former times, the moſt illuſtrious citizens, inſtead of ſullying, did ho-nour to their memories, by ſhedding the blood of Saturninus, Flaccus, the two Gracchi, and many others; ſurely I had no reaſon to fear lying under the reproach of poſterity, for killing this parricide.

Yet

Yet if the greateſt was ſure to befall me, it has always been my perſuaſion, that reproach acquired by virtue, was really glory, not reproach.

But ſome there are of this very order, who do not either ſee the dangers that threaten us, or diſſemble what they ſee; who by their ſoft and timorous conduct have cheriſhed Catiline's hopes, and ſtrengthned the conſpiracy by not believing it: by their authority many are influenced, both of the wicked and of the weak, who, if I had put this man to death, would not have failed to charge me with cruelty and tyranny. Now I am convinced, that when he is once gone to Manlius's camp whither he is bent, none can be ſo ſtupid as not to ſee there is a conſpiracy, none ſo wicked as not to acknowledge it: whereas by the execution of him alone, though this peſtilence might be ſomewhat checked, it could not be cruſhed. But ſhould he throw himſelf into rebellion, ſhould he carry his friends along with him, and draw together the deſperate and abandoned from every quarter, not only this ripened plague of the ſtate, but the very roots, the very ſeeds of all our misfortunes, will be extirpated.

We have long, conſcript fathers, been expoſed to the danger and dark meaſures of this conſpiracy; though by what means I know not; madneſs and inſolence, with every other ſpecies of guilt, have broke out, in their full maturity, during my conſulſhip. Now if from ſo powerful a confederacy of robbers this one only were removed, we ſhould perhaps be delivered for a while from our uneaſineſs and dread; but ſtill our danger would remain, and continue lurking in the very veins and vitals of the commonwealth. For as perſons in a violent fever are at firſt ſeemingly relieved

relieved from its raging heat by a draught of cold water, but afterwards more grievously tormented; so the present disorder of the state, tho' it may be somewhat abated by the punishment of this traitor, will yet rage with redoubled force, as his associates are left alive.

Let the wicked withdraw then, conscript fathers; let them separate themselves from the virtuous; let them assemble in one place; in a word, as I have often said, let the walls of Rome be between us and them. Let them no longer lay snares for the consul in his own house; no longer beset the tribunal of the city prætor; no longer surround the senate with armed men, nor prepare combustibles for firing the city; in short, let the sentiments of every citizen concerning the state appear in his face. With these omens, Catiline, of all prosperity to the commonwealth, but of destruction to thyself, and all the associates of thy black treason, be gone to that impious, that execrable war. Then, O Jupiter, thou, whose worship was established with the foundation of this city, thou, whom we truly call the prop and stay of our city and empire, wilt drive this parricide and his associates from thy altars and temples, from the houses and walls of Rome, from the lives and fortunes of all our citizens; and wilt destroy, with eternal punishments, both living and dead, all the foes of the virtuous, the enemies of their country, the plunderers of Italy, now linked together in this detestable league and partnership of guilt.

THE SECOND ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

Addreſs'd to the People.

AT length, Romans, we have rid ourſelves of Catiline; we have driven him away, raging with deſperate deſigns, breathing guilt and vengeance, meditating the ruin of his country, and threatning you and your city with maſſacre and flames; at leaſt we have ſent him from Rome, or haſtened his departure, and that by words only. He is gone; he has made his eſcape; he has ruſhed away. No longer ſhall this monſter, this prodigy of guilt, plot the deſtruction of the city within her walls. We have doubtleſs conquered this ringleader of domeſtic broils; nor ſhall we now be daily expoſed to his bloody dagger, with which he purſued us to the field of election, the forum, the ſenate, and even to our very houſes. In driving him from Rome, we have forced him from his poſt; and ſhall now, having no obſtacle in our way, treat him as an open enemy. We certainly ruined the man, and glorioufly defeated him, when we forced him from his treaſonable ſecret machinations into open rebellion.

What bitter anguiſh do ye think muſt have overwhelmed his mind, that he went away without murdering

dering the conſul; that we wreſted his ſword from him, before he dyed it in our blood; that he left the city ſtanding, and the citizens undeſtroyed? Now, Romans, he lies proſtrate; now he perceives all his enterprizes and hopes confounded; and often, no doubt, caſts back his eyes to this city, bewailing that ſhe is ſnatched from his deſtructive jaws: whilſt ſhe appears to exult, that ſhe has diſgorged, and flung out, ſo peſtilent a citizen.

But if there be any here, who blame me for what I am now boaſting of, as indeed you all juſtly may, that I did not rather apprehend, than ſend away ſo formidable an enemy: know, Romans, this is not my fault, but that of the times. Catiline ought long ſince to have ſuffered the laſt puniſhment; the cuſtom of our anceſtors, the diſcipline of the empire, and the intereſts of our country, required it. But how many do ye think there are, who would not have believed what I charged him with? how many, who through weakneſs would never have imagined it? how many, who would even have defended him? how many, who, through wickedneſs, would have eſpouſed his cauſe?

Had I, indeed, thought, that by dooming him to death, I could have delivered you from the dangers that threatned you, I ſhould certainly have long ſince ordered him to execution, at the hazard, not only of popular cenſure, but even of my life. But when I ſaw, that, if I had ſentenced him to death, as all of you at leaſt were not convinced of his guilt, I ſhould have drawn upon myſelf ſuch an odium, as would have diſabled me from proſecuting his accomplices; I brought the matter to this point, that, when you ſaw Catiline a declared enemy, ye might openly attack him. How for-

midable an enemy I look upon him abroad, you may judge from this, my countrymen, that I am ſorry he left the city with ſo few attendants. I wiſh he had taken his whole force along with him; he has carried off Tongillus indeed, the object of his unnatural paſſion, when a boy, together with Publicius and Munatius, men whoſe tavern debts would never have occaſioned any commotions in the ſtate; but what men hath he left behind him! how oppreſſed with debts! how powerful! how illuſtrious!

Having, therefore, ſuch an army, conſiſting of our Gallic legions, and the levies which Metellus has made in the territory of Picenum, together with the troops that are daily raiſed by us, I look upon all his forces as contemptible; made up of deſperate old men; of debauchees from the country; of clowniſh vagabonds; of ſuch as would forfeit their bails rather than leave the army; men who would run away, not only at the ſight of an army, but of the prætor's edict. I wiſh he had carried along with him thoſe perfumed perſons, who ſaunter about the forum; who frequent the court before the ſenate, ſhining in their purple, and who even take their place in the ſenate. If theſe remain, attend to what I ſay; they, who live as deſerters from the army, are more to be dreaded than the army itſelf. And what renders them ſtill more formidable, is, that though they are ſenſible I know all their ſchemes, yet they are not moved. I can point out the perſon to whom Apulia is allotted, to whom Etruria, to whom the territory of Picenum, to whom the neighbouring diſtrict of Gaul. I behold the men, who deſired to be employed in ſetting fire to Rome, and putting her citizens to the ſword. They know that I am acquainted with all their counſels of the night before laſt;

laſt; I laid them all open yeſterday in the ſenate: upon which Catiline was ſo diſheartened that he fled. Why then do theſe others tarry? If they imagine that I ſhall always uſe the ſame lenity, they are grievouſly deceived.

I have gained the point I had in view; namely, to convince you all fully, that a conſpiracy is formed againſt the ſtate: unleſs there be any who imagine, that ſuch as reſemble Catiline, enter not into Catiline's deſigns. There is no room now for gentle meaſures; our ſituation calls for rigorous ones: yet one thing I will ſtill grant them; let them quit the city, let them follow Catiline, and not ſuffer him to languiſh in their abſence. Nay, I will tell them the way; he has taken the Aurelian road: if they make haſte, they will overtake him before night.

Oh happy ſtate, when once ſhe is drained of this ſink of wickedneſs! truly to me ſhe ſeems already to have reſumed beauty and vigour by the removal of Catiline alone. Indeed, what crime, what enormity can be conceived, that hath not entered into his thoughts? what priſoner can be found throughout all Italy, what gladiator, what robber, what aſſaſſin, what parricide, what forger of wills, what cheat, what riotous wretch, what adulterer, what harlot, what corrupter of youth, what one debauched youth, what one abandoned criminal, who will not own an intimate familiarity with Catiline? What one murder has been committed for theſe many years without him? What one act of lewdneſs but by him? Had ever any man ſuch talents for ſeducing youth as he, who indulged himſelf in an infamous paſſion for ſome, and proſtituted himſelf unnaturally to others? To many he promiſed the full enjoyment of their pleaſures, to many the

death of their parents, not only prompting them to ſhed their blood, but aſſiſting them in doing it. At preſent what a vaſt number of deſperate and profligate wretches has he got together, not only from the city, but the country! There is not a perſon oppreſſed with debts in Rome, or the remoteſt corner of Italy, whom he has not engaged in this deteſtable confederacy.

And that you may be ſenſible of what different talents he is poſſeſſed, there is not a gladiator, in any of our publick ſchools, remarkable for being audacious in miſchief, who does not acknowledge an intimacy with Catiline; not a ſtage player of diſtinguiſhed impudence and guilt, who does not openly declare his cloſe friendſhip with him. Yet this man, inured to lewdneſs and villainy, has been celebrated by theſe his aſſociates, as a perſon brave and hardy; capable of enduring cold, hunger, thirſt, and watching; while he was waſting in debauchery and wicked purſuits, his natural qualifications for virtuous induſtry.

Would his companions but follow him, would this deſperate, abandoned crew but leave the city, how happy ſhould we be! how fortunate the ſtate! how glorious my conſulſhip! Men now ſet no bounds to their lawleſs paſſions; their crimes are more than human, and quite intolerable. They think of nothing but murders, flames, and rapine. They have laviſhed their eſtates, they have ſquandered their money; firſt their ſubſtance failed them; and now their credit; yet ſtill the ſame waſteful and voluptuous ſpirit poſſeſſes them. Did they only indulge themſelves in lewdneſs and voluptuous feaſting, amidſt their revels and gaming, tho' then their caſe would indeed be deſperate, yet ſtill they might be borne with. But it is quite inſufferable, that the

the daſtardly ſhould plot againſt the brave; the fooliſh againſt the prudent; the drunken againſt the ſober; the drouſy againſt the vigilant; that lolling at feaſts, careſſing miſtreſſes, ſtaggering with wine, ſurfeited by gluttony, decked with garlands, daubed with perfumes, and weakened with impure pleaſures, they ſhould belch in their converſations of maſſacring every worthy citizen, and firing the city.

Over ſuch, I truſt, ſome terrible fate is now hanging; and that the vengeance ſo long due to their villainy, their wickedneſs, their luſts, is actually breaking upon their guilty heads, or juſt ready to break. If my conſulſhip, ſince it cannot cure, ſhould exterminate theſe men, it would ſave the ſtate not for a ſhort period, but a length of ages. For there is no nation whom we need to dread, no king that can make war upon the Roman people. All diſturbances abroad, both by ſea and land, are quelled through the courage of one man: but inteſtine commotions ſtill remain; the treaſon, the danger, the enemy is within. We are to combat with luxury, with madneſs, with villainy. In this war, citizens, I profeſs myſelf your leader; I chearfully take upon me all the animoſity of the deſperate: whatever can be healed, I will employ any means to heal; but what muſt be cut off, I will never ſuffer to ſpread to the ruin of the ſtate. Let them depart then, or be at reſt; but if they will neither be gone nor reform, let them look for the puniſhment they deſerve.

Some there are, Romans, I know, who affirm that Catiline was driven by me into exile. Could words effect it, I ſhould drive thoſe who ſay ſo into exile too. So timorous, and very modeſt was Catiline, no doubt, that he could not reſiſt the conſul's voice; but, the moment he was ordered into ba-

niſhment, he obeyed, and departed. Yeſterday, after I had narrowly eſcaped being murdered in my own houſe, I aſſembled the ſenate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, and laid the whole conſpiracy before them. When Catiline entered, was he ſpoke to, was he ſaluted by any one ſenator? Which of them all looked upon him as a deſperate citizen, and not rather as an implacable enemy? nay, thoſe of greateſt eminence in that order left that part of the benches, to which he approached, naked and empty.

Here, I, that violent conſul, whoſe word alone is ſufficient to drive citizens into baniſhment, aſked Catiline, whether he had or had not been at the meeting, held the preceding night, at the houſe of M. Lecca? Hardened as he is in impudence, he anſwered nothing, being ſtruck with the conſciouſneſs of his own guilt: upon which, I laid open the whole; the tranſactions of that night, where he had been, what was reſerved for the next, and how the war in all its parts was to be conducted. Seeing him embarraſſed and ſpeechleſs, I aſked, what hindered a departure, which he had ſo long meditated; when, to my knowledge, he had ſent before him arms, rods, and axes, trumpets, military enſigns, and that ſilver eagle, to which he had raiſed ſacrilegious altars in his own houſe. Did I force this man into baniſhment, whom I already ſaw engaged in hoſtilities? Probably indeed, that Manlius, a petty centurion, who has encamped in the territory of Feſulæ, has declared war againſt the Roman people in his own name; that the forces under him do not expect Catiline for their general; and that he, driven into exile, will retire into Marſeilles, without entering that camp.

O wretched condition, not only of governing, but of preſerving the ſtate! If Catiline, entangled and

and baffled by my pains and counſels, ſhould be ſeized with ſudden dread, alter his purpoſe, abandon his faction, drop his ſchemes of war, and, deſerting his guilty purſuits, retire into baniſhment; he will be ſaid not to be diſarmed by me; not to be confounded and diſmayed by my vigilance; or driven from all his ſchemes and hopes; but caſt into baniſhment, by the threats and violence of the conſul, innocent and uncondemned: ſhould he take this courſe, there will be numbers, who will think him not wicked, but unhappy; and me, not a diligent conſul, but a cruel tyrant. But I little regard all this ſtorm of groundleſs and bitter reproach, Romans, if I can only reſcue you from the calamity of ſo dreadful and deteſtable a war. Be it reported, that I drove him hence, ſo he but goes into baniſhment; but believe me, he will not go. I ſhall never pray to the immortal gods, that, in order to free me from popular cenſure, you may hear that Catiline is at the head of an army, advancing furiouſly againſt you: yet this you will hear within three days; and what I dread moſt, is, that the time may come, when I ſhall be reproached, not for forcing, but ſuffering him, to depart. But if ſome affirm that he was driven away, what would they have ſaid if he had been put to death?

The truth is, thoſe who give out that Catiline is gone to Marſeilles, do not ſo much believe it, as they are afraid of it: and with all the compaſſion they affect for him, there is not one of them, but had rather ſee him with Manlius, than at Marſeilles. But indeed, had he never intended what he now purſues, ſuch is his ſpirit, that he would rather be ſlain as a robber, than live as an exile. As matters now are, ſince nothing has happened contrary to his deſire and expectation, only that we are

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left alive; let us rather wiſh that he may go into baniſhment, than complain that he is gone.

But why do I ſpend ſo many words upon one enemy? an enemy too, who acknowledges himſelf as ſuch; one, whom I no longer fear, now that a wall ſeparates us, which I have often wiſhed for. Shall I ſay nothing concerning thoſe who diſſemble their enmity; who continue at Rome, and mix in our aſſemblies; whoſe puniſhment indeed I do not ſo much aim at, as, were it poſſible to bring it about, their cure, and reconciliation to the ſtate? nor do I ſee why it ſhould not, would they but hearken to me. I ſhall therefore, firſt, ſhew you, citizens, what different ſorts of men their forces conſiſt of; and then endeavour to cure each, as far as reaſoning and perſuaſion will do it.

The firſt claſs conſiſts of thoſe who have great debts, but greater poſſeſſions; which they are ſo paſſionately fond of, that they will on no account diminiſh them. This claſs, as being rich, makes a more honourable appearance than the reſt; but their conduct and diſpoſition is the moſt infamous of all. Haſt thou a large eſtate, many houſes, much money, numerous attendants, all the elegances of life, and the greateſt affluence of every thing? and yet doſt thou grudge to take from thy wealth, that thou mayſt add to thy credit? what doſt thou expect? is it war? and doſt thou imagine that thy poſſeſſions will be unviolated amidſt univerſal deſolation? doſt thou expect new regulations about debts? They are much miſtaken who look for ſuch from Catiline. New regulations ſhall be made by my intereſt, but limited ones, and attended with publick auctions; which is the only method of preſerving thoſe who have eſtates from ruin; and had they conſented to this ſooner, nor fooliſhly run out their eſtates in mortgages,

mortgages, they had at this day been richer and better citizens. This claſs, however, I am far from thinking formidable; for it is poſſible they may alter their ſentiments, or if they continue in them, I am of opinion that they will rather attack the ſtate with imprecations, than with arms.

A ſecond ſort conſiſts of thoſe, who, tho' overwhelmed with debts, yet want to ſway the ſtate, and aſpire after publick dignities; they imagine they ſhall be able to obtain thoſe honours, when the commonwealth is thrown into confuſion and diſorder, which they deſpair of arriving at during its tranquillity. To theſe the ſame advice muſt be given as to the reſt, which is, to deſpair of obtaining what they labour after; in the firſt place, becauſe I myſelf am vigilant, and ever attending to the intereſts of the ſtate: then there is in Rome a vaſt number of worthy citizens, all reſolute, and firmly united: beſides this, we have numerous forces; and, finally, the immortal gods will not fail to interpoſe in behalf of this invincible people, this renowned empire, this flouriſhing city, againſt ſo black and daring an attempt. But ſhould theſe men obtain what they purſue with ſuch frantic fury, do they hope to find their impious and inhuman wiſhes accompliſhed, and to ſee themſelves ſpring up conſuls, dictators, or kings, from the ruins of the city, and the blood of her citizens? don't they perceive, that if they ſhould attain what they ſo earneſtly wiſh for, they muſt reſign it to ſome fugitive or gladiator?

A third claſs is compoſed of men advanced in age, but vigorous and trained up to labour: ſuch is Manlius, who is now ſucceeded by Catiline. Theſe are of the colonies planted by Sylla at Feſulæ, all of which I believe conſiſted of the beſt citizens, and braveſt men: but they are ſuch members of thoſe co-

colonies, as coming, all of a ſudden, into the poſſeſſion of unexpected wealth, gave themſelves up to all manner of vanity and extravagance; men, who by building fine houſes, and rioting in the pomp of ſplendid equipages, numerous ſlaves, and magnificent entertainments, have contracted ſuch vaſt debts, that in order to diſcharge them, they muſt recal Sylla from the ſhades of death. They have likewiſe, by the hopes of ſeeing the late courſe of rapine renewed, gained over ſome wretched and needy ruſtics to their party. Both theſe, citizens, I reckon under the ſame claſs of thieves and plunderers. This advice, however, I will give them, to drop their outrageous purſuits, and lay aſide all thoughts of proſcriptions and dictatorſhips. For the cruelties of theſe times have given ſo deep a wound to the ſtate, that not only men, but even the beaſts of the field, in my opinion, would not bear to ſee them repeated.

The fourth is a various, mixt, and mutinous tribe, compoſed of perſons, who have been long undone, and can never recover; who, partly through indolence, partly through miſmanagement, and partly too through extravagance, are oppreſſed with a load of old debts; men, who being worried with judicial decrees, arreſts, and confiſcations of their eſtates, are ſaid to reſort in great numbers, both from town and country, to the enemy's camp. Theſe I look upon not as brave ſoldiers, but weak fugitives. Such perſons, if they cannot ſupport themſelves, let them fall; but in ſuch a manner, that neither the ſtate, nor even their neareſt neighbours may feel it. For if they cannot live with honour, I cannot conceive why they ſhould chooſe to die with infamy: or why they ſhould fancy it leſs painful to die with company, than to periſh by themſelves.

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The fifth claſs conſiſts of parricides, aſſaſſins, and criminals of every denomination. Theſe I do not preſs to leave Catiline; for beſides that nothing can ſeparate them, it is proper they ſhould periſh in their robberies; ſince they are too numerous to be confined in our priſons.

The laſt claſs, not only in my liſt, but even in character and conduct, are Catiline's peculiar favourites; perſons of his own chuſing; his boſom friends; ſuch as you ſee with curled locks; ſome beardleſs; others with beards nicely trimmed; all arrayed in long flowing robes, in veils, not gowns; perſons, whoſe labours and vigilance are only to be ſeen at midnight banquets.

To this tribe are joined all gameſters, adulterers, and the lewd of every denomination. Theſe tender, delicate, and engaging youths, have been taught not only all the arts of intrigue; how to dance and play; but they have learned to wield the bloody dagger, and to adminiſter poiſon with great dexterity. Now unleſs theſe depart, unleſs they periſh, believe me, even though Catiline himſelf ſhould fall, we ſhall ſtill have a nurſery of Catilines in the ſtate. But what do theſe wretches mean? do they intend to carry their harlots with them to the camp? Indeed how can they be without them theſe cold winter nights? But how will they endure the nipping froſts and ſnows of the Appennine mountains? unleſs they imagine they can more eaſily bear the rigours of winter for having learned to dance naked in their nocturnal revels. O what a formidable war, when Catiline's prætorian band is made up of perſons taken from the embraces of harlots!

Againſt theſe renounced troops of Catiline, draw up now, Romans, your garriſons and armies: and firſt oppoſe your conſuls and generals to that old maimed gladiator; then bring forth the ſtrength and flower of all Italy to encounter his miſerable, his outcaſt crew; for the ramparts of our colonies, and municipal cities will be ſufficient to oppoſe to his entrenchments on the Appennine mountains; your other reſources of ſtrength, which render you ſo powerful and illuſtrious, it does not become me to compare with the weakneſs and indigence of that robber.

But not to mention the advantages which we enjoy, and of which he is deſtitute, namely, the ſenate, the knights, the city of Rome, the Roman people, the treaſury, the publick revenues, all Italy, all the provinces, and foreign nations; not to mention theſe, I ſay, if we only ballance the views and characters of the oppoſite parties, we ſhall ſoon ſee how low our enemies lie. On one ſide modeſty contends againſt inſolence on the other; here is chaſtity, there is impurity; here faith, there treachery; here piety, there crimes; here reſolution, there rage; here honour, there infamy; here moderation, there unbridled paſſions; in ſhort, equity, temperance, fortitude, prudence, ſtruggle with iniquity, luxury, cowardice, and raſhneſs; every virtue with every vice. Finally, the conteſt is between wealth and indigence, reaſon and madneſs, wiſdom and folly; between well grounded hopes and utter deſpair. In ſuch a ſtrife and conflict as this, even if human aid ſhould fail, will not the immortal gods enable ſuch illuſtrious virtue to triumph over ſuch complicated vice?

In ſuch a ſituation, Romans, do you, as I have before adviſed you, watch and defend your private houſes; I have taken effectual meaſures for the ſecurity of the city, without occaſioning any tumult or alarm. The colonies and municipal towns having received notice from me of Catiline's departure in the night, will be upon their guard againſt him. The gladiators, whom he depended upon as his ſtrongeſt and moſt truſty band, though they are better affected than ſome of the patricians, ſhall be ſecured from moving. Q. Metellus, whom, upon my foreſeeing what would happen, I ſent before into Gaul and the diſtrict of Picenum, will either cruſh the parricide, or baffle all his motions and attempts. In order to ſettle, haſten, and execute all other matters, I am going to conſult the ſenate, whom you now ſee aſſembling.

As for thoſe who continue in the city, and were left by Catiline on purpoſe to deſtroy it and you all, tho' they are enemies, yet being citizens, I will again and again admoniſh them. The purpoſe of my lenity hitherto, which to ſome may ſeem to have been too great, was to wait for a full diſcovery of this ſecret conſpiracy; but now I can no longer forget that this is my country, that I am conſul, and that I muſt either live with my countrymen or die for them. There is no guard upon the gates, no ambuſh upon the road; if any have a mind to depart, they may go wherever they pleaſe: but if any make the leaſt ſtir within the city, if I learn that they even conceive a deſign of raiſing a diſturbance in the ſtate, they ſhall feel that there are vigilant conſuls in it, excellent magiſtrates, a reſolute ſenate; that there are arms, and a priſon provided by our anceſtors as the avenger of manifeſt crimes.

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Moreover, all this, Romans, ſhall be tranſacted in ſuch a manner, that the greateſt diſorders ſhall be quelled without the leaſt diſturbance; the greateſt dangers averted without any tumult; a domeſtic war, the moſt cruel and deſperate of any in our memory, ſhall be extinguiſhed by me alone, without putting off my gown. All this will I manage ſo, citizens, that, if poſſible, no one guilty perſon in this city ſhall ſuffer puniſhment; but if their daring inſolence, and my country's danger ſhould drive me from this gentle purpoſe; yet I ſhall bring to paſs, what in ſo cruel and treacherous a war could ſcarce be hoped for, that not one worthy citizen ſhall periſh, but all of you be ſafe by the execution of a few.

Theſe things, Romans, I promiſe, not from any confidence in my own prudence, or from any human counſels, but from the many clear declarations of the immortal gods, by whom I am inſpired with this hope, and by whoſe impulſe I am led into this determination; who aſſiſt us, not as they were formerly wont, at a diſtance, againſt foreign and remote enemies, but by their preſent aid and protection, defend their own temples, and the dwellings of the city: It is your part, therefore, citizens, to offer up prayers, vows, and ſupplications to them, that, ſince all our enemies are ſubdued both by ſea and land, they would defend this city, which they have deſigned to be the faireſt, the moſt flouriſhing, and powerful of all others, from the execrable guilt of her own deſperate and rebellious citizens.

THE

THE THIRD

ORATION

AGAINST

CATILINE.

Addreſſed to the People.

TO day, Romans, you behold your common-wealth, your lives, your eſtates and fortunes, your wives and children, this fair and flouriſhing city, the ſeat of this renowned empire, reſcued from fire and ſword, almoſt ſnatched from the jaws of fate, and preſerved and reſtored, by the great love of the immortal gods towards you, and by means of my toils, dangers, and counſels. Now, if thoſe days, wherein we are preſerved from any threatning calamities, be no leſs joyful and memorable than the day of our birth; becauſe the joy of our being preſerved is certain, the condition to which we are born, uncertain; and becauſe we are not ſenſible of our being born, but always feel joy at our being preſerved: ſurely then, ſince our love and eſteem for the founder of this great city made us rank him among the immortal gods, you and your poſterity ought highly to honour that man, who hath preſerved the ſame city with all its acceſſions of ſtrength and beauty. When the flames ſurrounded your city, and were ready to devour your temples, your ſanctuaries, your walls, and private houſes, I extinguiſhed them; I blunted the daggers that were drawn againſt the ſtate; I turned aſide the weapons that were pointed at your throats.

After having laid open and explained all the particulars of this conſpiracy before the ſenate, I will now, Romans, briefly ſatisfy your impatience to know, what terrible and evident deſtruction threatned you, and by what means it was traced out and diſcovered.

In the firſt place then, ever ſince Catiline fled from Rome, as he left behind him the aſſociates of his treaſon, with the boldeſt champions of this execrable war, all my care and vigilance have been employed to ſecure you from ſo dark and deſperate meaſ res. When I drove Catiline out of Rome (for now I fear no reproach from that word; all I have to fear is, that he was ſuffered to leave it alive) I was, indeed, in hopes, that, upon his expulſion, either the reſt of his aſſociates would go along with him, or that thoſe who remained would be feeble and irreſolute without him. But when I perceived that the moſt outrageous and bloody ſtill continued with us, I employed my whole thoughts, night and day, to trace out all their ſchemes and proceedings; that, ſince the enormity of the treaſon hindered you from giving credit to my words, I might place the whole matter in ſuch a light, as to oblige you to take meaſures for your own ſafety, when your eyes beheld the danger that threatned you. Accordingly when I found, that the deputies of the Allobroges had been ſolicited by P. Lentulus to raiſe a war beyond the Alps, and commotions in thoſe parts of Gaul; that, in their way home, they were to have a conference with Catiline, for whom they had letters and inſtructions; and that Volturcius was ſent to attend them, who was likewiſe entruſted with letters to Catiline; I thought a fair opportunity was now offered to me, not only of diſcovering the whole conſpiracy myſelf, but of giving the ſenate,

and

and you the Roman people, the moſt entire ſatisfaction concerning it; a matter of the greateſt difficulty, and often the ſubject of my prayers to the immortal gods.

Yeſterday, therefore, I ſent for the two prætors, L. Flaccus and C. Pomptinus, men of great courage and zeal for the commonwealth: I diſcovered the matter to them, and gave them my orders. They, with a noble and generous ardor for the public good, readily undertook the affair; and about the evening privately reached the Milvian bridge, diſpoſing themſelves in ſuch a manner in the villages on each ſide the Tiber, that the bridge ſtood between them. They likewiſe carried along with them many brave men without the leaſt ſuſpicion; and I, in order to ſtrengthen them, diſpatched from the precinct of Reate, a number of choſen youths well armed, whoſe aſſiſtance I always make uſe of upon public exigencies. In the mean time, about the end of the third watch, as the deputies of the Allobroges, with a great retinue, and accompanied by Volturcius, began to paſs the bridge, an attack was made upon them, and ſwords were drawn on both ſides. The prætors alone were truſted with the deſign, to all the reſt it remained a ſecret. As ſoon as Pomptinus and Flaccus advanced, the conflict ended; all the letters, that were found amongſt the retinue of the deputies, were delivered to the prætors unopened; and the deputies themſelves were ſeized, and brought before me, towards the dawn of day. I immediately ſent for Gabinius Cimber, that deteſtable artificer of their treaſon, before he could ſuſpect how matters went; L. Statilius was ſent for next; then Cethegus; Lentulus came too, but long after the reſt, having ſat up late the night before, I preſume, contrary to cuſtom, in writing letters to his correſpondents.

Many of the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious perſons in the commonwealth, upon hearing what had paſt, came to me in the morning, and were of opinion that I ſhould open the letters, before I communicated them to the ſenate, leſt, if nothing of importance was found in them, I ſhould be blamed for raiſing too precipitately, ſo terrible an alarm in the ſtate. But this I refuſed to do: as the danger was public, I thought the whole affair ſhould be laid before the public council. For though it ſhould have appeared that I was miſinformed, Romans, ſtill I imagined, I had no reaſon to be afraid of being reproached for too great circumſpection, when ſuch danger threatned the ſtate. I immediately ſummoned, as you ſaw, a full ſenate: and in the mean time, upon a hint given me by the Allobroges, I ſent C. Sulpicius the prætor, a brave man, to bring what arms he could find in the houſe of Cethegus, from whence he accordingly brought a great number of ſwords and daggers.

I introduced Volturcius, without the Gauls, into the ſenate; and, by their order, plighted to him the publick faith, encouraging him not to be afraid, but to diſcover all he knew. He, ſcarce able to recover himſelf from his fright, declared, that he had letters and verbal inſtructions from Lentulus to Catiline, adviſing him to arm the ſlaves, and advance directly with his army to Rome, that, when they had ſet fire to every quarter of the city, according to the plan that was laid down, and made vaſt ſlaughter of the citizens, he might be at hand to cut off thoſe who endeavoured to eſcape, and join his aſſociates in the city.

The Gauls being introduced, declared, that an oath of fidelity had been plighted to them, and letters

letters given by P. Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius, to be delivered to their ſtate; together with inſtructions from the ſame three in conjunction with L. Caſſius, to ſend a body of cavalry into Italy, as ſoon as poſſible, there being no ſcarcity of foot: that Lentulus had aſſured them from the Sibylline oracles, and the anſwers of the augurs, that he was the third of the Cornelian family who was deſtined to be ſovereign of this city and empire: that Cinna and Sylla had been ſo already: and that he farther alledged, that this year would prove fatal to Rome and her empire, being the tenth from the acquittal of the veſtal virgins, and the twentieth from the burning of the capitol. They likewiſe declared, that Lentulus and others choſe to have the maſſacre, and firing of the city, executed on the Saturnalia, which Cethegus thought too late; and that this occaſioned a conteſt between them.

To be as ſhort as poſſible, Romans, I ordered the letters to be produced, according to the hands from whence they were ſaid to come. Firſt; I ſhewed Cethegus his own ſeal; he owned it: I cut the thread, and read the letter. It was written with his own hand, and contained aſſurances to the ſenate and people of the Allobroges, that he would fulfil what he had promiſed to their deputies; intreating them to perform what their deputies had promiſed in their name. Then Cethegus, who, a little before, in order to juſtify himſelf on account of the ſwords and daggers found in his poſſeſſion, alledged that he had always been fond of fine arms, was, upon reading his letter, diſpirited, confounded, ſelf-convicted, and inſtantly ſtruck dumb. Statilius being introduced next, owned his hand and ſeal; his letter, which was written almoſt in the ſame ſtrain with the former, was read to him, and he confeſſed all. I then ſhewed Lentulus his

letter, and aſked if he knew the ſeal: he did not deny it. It is indeed, ſaid I, a well known ſeal; the head of thy grandfather, a Roman of diſtinguiſhed merit, who heartily loved his country and fellow-citizens; a picture, the very ſight of which ought to have reſtrained thee from ſo black a crime. Then was read his letter to the ſenate and people of the Allobroges, to the ſame purpoſe. I told him, if he had any thing to ſay in his own defence, that he was at liberty: at firſt he denied the whole; but ſoon after, the whole evidence being laid open, he roſe up, and aſked the Gauls, what buſineſs he had ever had with them? and on what account they had come to his houſe? the ſame queſtion he likewiſe put to Volturcius. When they returned him a ſhort and ſpirited anſwer, by whom they had been introduced, and how often they had been at his houſe, and aſked him whether he had never talked to them about the Sibylline oracles? Then all on a ſudden, ſtruck with remorſe, he gave a clear proof of the great power of conſcience over the human mind. For, though he might have denied what they advanced, yet, to the great ſurprize of all, he confeſſed it: ſuch was the force of convicted guilt, as to deprive him of all manner of aſſiſtance not only from his great abilities and eloquence, but even from his wicked heart and unparallelled impudence.

Now Volturcius of a ſudden ordered the letter, which Lentulus had given him for Catiline, to be produced and read. This ſtruck Lentulus with the greateſt confuſion; yet he confeſſed his hand and ſeal. It was wrote without any ſubſcription, in the following ſtile: 'Who I am you will learn from 'the bearer; conſider your ſituation, and act like 'a man; reflect upon what your circumſtances neceſſarily

'ceſſarily require, and ſeek aſſiſtance from all, even 'the meaneſt.'

Gabinius, who was next brought in, anſwered impudently at firſt, but at laſt denied nothing wherewith he was charged by the Gauls. As for me, Romans, though I was fully perſuaded of their guilt, by their letters, ſeals, hand-writing, and voluntary confeſſion; yet I had ſtill clearer proofs of it from their looks, their changing colour, their countenances, and their ſilence: ſo great indeed was their conſternation, ſuch their downcaſt eyes, and guilty glances, which they ſometimes ſtole at one another, that they did not ſo much look like perſons convicted by others, as detected by themſelves.

When the evidence was thus laid open, and appeared clear and convincing, I applied to the ſenate, Romans, to know what reſolutions they would take for the ſafety of the ſtate. The moſt vigorous and reſolute meaſures were propoſed by the leading men, which were agreed to by the ſenate without any variation. And as their ordinance is not as yet regiſtered, I ſhall lay before you, citizens (upon memory) what they then ordained, as well as I can recollect it. Firſt of all, public thanks were decreed me in the ſtrongeſt terms, for having delivered the ſtate from the greateſt dangers by my courage, counſels and foreſight: then the prætors L. Flaccus and C. Pomptinus had juſt and well merited praiſes beſtowed upon them, for their faithful and vigorous execution of my orders. My brave collegue too was extolled for having removed, from his own and the public councils, all thoſe who were concerned in the conſpiracy. They then ordained that Lentulus, after abdicating the prætorſhip, ſhould be delivered into ſafe cuſtody; as likewiſe C. Cethegus,

gus, L. Statilius, and P. Gabinius, all three then preſent. The like ſentence was paſſed upon L. Caſſius, who had deſired to be employed in firing the city; upon M. Cæparius, to whom, as was proved, Apulia had been aſſigned for raiſing the ſhepherds; upon P. Furius, a member of the colonies planted by Sylla at Feſulæ; upon Q. Manlius Chilo, who was engaged with this Furius in making application to the Allobroges; and upon P. Umbrenus, the ſon of a freed man, who was the firſt, as clearly appeared, that introduced the Gauls to Gabinius.

Such was the lenity, Romans, exerciſed by the ſenate, who judged that by puniſhing nine of the moſt deſperate conſpirators, out of ſo great a number of domeſtic enemies, they ſhould be able to preſerve the ſtate, and reclaim all the reſt. A public thankſgiving was likewiſe decreed in my name to the immortal gods, for their diſtinguiſhing favours to the commonwealth; the firſt, Romans, that was ever decreed to any man in the gown ſince the foundation of Rome. The decree was expreſſed in the following words: 'Becauſe I had preſerved 'the city from flames, the citizens from a maſſacre, 'and Italy from a war.' A thankſgiving, Romans, which, if compared with paſt ones, differs from them in this, that all others were appointed for ſome particular ſervice to the ſtate, this alone for ſaving it. The ſenate likewiſe ſaw that, which required our firſt care, firſt executed. For though P. Lentulus, upon the evidence we had of his guilt, and his own confeſſion, was adjudged by the ſenate to have loſt not only the prætorſhip, but alſo the privileges of a Roman citizen, yet he abdicated his magiſtracy. So that we were delivered from a ſcruple, which otherwiſe we might have entertained, in puniſhing a Roman magiſtrate; a ſcruple indeed, which

which the illuſtrious C. Marius got eaſily over, when he put to death C. Glaucia the prætor, againſt whom no particular ſentence had paſſed.

Now, Romans, as the impious leaders of this deteſtable and dangerous conſpiracy, are ſeized and in ſafe cuſtody, you ought to conclude, that all Catiline's forces, his ſtrength, and hopes, are vaniſhed, the dangers that threatned the city being thus averted. Indeed, Romans, whilſt I was driving him from Rome, I foreſaw, that if he was once removed, there could be nothing to apprehend from the dreams of Lentulus, the fat of Caſſius, or the raſhneſs of Cethegus. Catiline was the only perſon of them all to be dreaded, but no longer than while he continued within our walls. He knew every thing; he had acceſs every where; he had both abilities and boldneſs to apply to, to tempt, and ſollicit, ſuch as he thought proper inſtruments for his purpoſes; he was ready at concerting meaſures for every undertaking, and wanted neither eloquence nor activity to execute them. Beſides, he had ſelect perſons for the execution of every ſcheme, and, notwithſtanding this, he never reckoned a thing done, becauſe he had ordered it, but attended to every thing in perſon; ever active, vigilant, and laborious, fearing neither cold, hunger, nor thirſt. Had I not driven this man from his ſecret plots into open rebellion, a man of ſuch ſpirit, ſo reſolute, ſo daring, ſo artful, ſo vigilant to do miſchief, ſo active in purſuing his deſperate meaſures, I will tell you, what I really think, Romans, I ſhould not eaſily have prevented ſo tragical an evil from falling upon your heads. He would not have put off the execution of his deſign till the Saturnalia; nor named the fatal day for the deſtruction of the ſtate ſo long before hand: nor ſuffered his hand and ſeal, nay and living witneſſes too, to be brought againſt him, as evidences

of

of his guilt. Yet in his abſence all has been managed in ſuch a manner, that no theft in any private family was ever more clearly detected, than this mighty conſpiracy. But if Catiline had continued in the city, till this day, though as long as he continued in it, I marred and obſtructed all his meaſures, yet, to ſay the leaſt, we muſt have come to blows with him; nor, as long as he remained in Rome, could we have delivered the ſtate from ſuch dangers, with ſo much peace, tranquillity, and ſilence.

But all my proceedings on this occaſion, citizens, have been conducted in ſuch a manner, that they ſeem to have been under the influence and direction of the immortal gods. This we may infer not only from the impoſſibility of bringing about ſuch events merely by human counſel, but from the almoſt viſible interpoſition of the gods in our favour, during all this conjuncture. For not to mention the mighty ſtreams of light from the weſt, the blazing of the heavens, the thunder, the earthquakes, and the other prodigies, which were ſo numerous in my conſulſhip, that they ſeemed like the voice of the gods, foretelling all that has now happened; ſurely, Romans, what I am now to relate ought not to be omitted or ſlighted.

You cannot but remember, how, under the conſulſhip of Cotta and Torquatus, ſeveral turrets of the capitol were ſtruck with lightning, the images of the gods thrown down, the ſtatues of antient heroes overturned; the brazen tables of the laws diſſolved; nay even the gilt ſtatue of the founder of Rome was ſtruck, which you may remember to have ſeen in the capitol, repreſenting him as an infant ſucking a wolf. Upon this occaſion, the ſoothſayers, being called together from all Etruria, declared

clared, that fire, ſlaughter, the extinction of the laws, civil war, and the ruin of the ſtate and empire were portended, unleſs the gods could be ſo appeaſed, by all ſorts of means, as to interpoſe, and even in ſome meaſure bend the courſe of fate itſelf. Upon their anſwer, ſolemn games were celebrated during ten days, nor was any thing neglected that was proper to pacify the gods. The ſame ſoothſayers likewiſe ordered a larger ſtatue of Jupiter to be made, and placed on high, in a poſition, contrary to the former, with its face towards the eaſt; declaring their hopes that, if his ſtatue, which you now behold, looked towards the riſing ſun, the forum, and the ſenate houſe, then all plots againſt the ſtate would be ſo fully detected, as to be clearly ſeen by the ſenate and people of Rome. Accordingly, the then conſuls ordered the ſtatue to be placed in the manner directed, but the work proceeded ſo ſlowly, that neither they nor I myſelf, have been able to get it executed before this very day.

Now, Romans, can any man be ſuch an enemy to truth, ſo obſtinate, ſo blind, as to deny that all things, eſpecially this ſtate, are governed by the power and providence of the gods? For when the ſoothſayers expreſsly declared, that certain members of the ſtate were meditating flames, ſlaughter, and the utter ruin of the ſtate; the guilt was ſo enormous as to ſeem incredible to ſome; yet you have ſeen theſe iniquities not only deviſed by wicked citizens, but even attempted. Is it poſſible then to deny the immediate interpoſition of Jupiter, the beſt and greateſt, in your behalf; when, as the conſpirators and witneſſes were carried this morning, by my order, through the Forum to the temple of Concord, in that very moment the ſtatue was fixed in its place? and being fixed and turned to look upon

upon you and the ſenate, both you and the ſenate ſaw all the ſecret meaſures, concerted for your ruin, diſcovered and expoſed. They therefore deſerve the ſeverer puniſhment, and to be held in greater deteſtation, who impiouſly endeavoured to reduce to aſhes, not only your houſes and dwellings, but even the temples and ſeats of the immortal gods. Were I to aſſume the glory of defeating their purpoſes, it would be ſtrange preſumption, and intolerable vanity. It was he, it was Jupiter himſelf who oppoſed them; it was he who ſaved the capitol; he who preſerved the temples; he who reſcued this city and you all from ruin. It was from the immortal gods, Romans, that I derived my reſolution and foreſight; and by their guidance that I obtained theſe important diſcoveries.

Now as to the attempt of corrupting the Allobroges; Lentulus and his aſſociates could never have been ſo fooliſh as to truſt letters and affairs of ſuch importance to men barbarous and unknown to them, had not the immortal gods deprived theſe audacious traitors of prudence and underſtanding. Can you imagine that any thing leſs than a divine interpoſition could have made the Gauls, a nation ſcarce yet reduced to terms of peace, and the only one that ſeems to have both ſtrength and inclination to make war upon the Roman people, prefer your ſafety to their own intereſt, and lend a deaf ear to the flattering promiſes of dominion, and the greateſt advantages, made them by the patricians? eſpecially when they might have conquered us, not by fighting, but by holding their tongues.

As a thankſgiving then, Romans, has been decreed at all the ſhrines of the gods, celebrate the feſtival religiouſly with your wives and children: you have often given proofs of your gratitude to the

the immortal gods, when they were juſtly due; but ſurely never were they more reaſonable than at preſent. You are reſcued from the moſt tragical and deplorable doom; reſcued without ſlaughter, without blood, without an army, without fighting: you have obtained the victory, without changing the habit of citizens, and without any general but me in my city robe.

Here, Romans, call to mind all your civil diſſentions, not only thoſe which you have heard of, but thoſe which you yourſelves remember, and have ſeen. L. Sylla deſtroyed P. Sulpicius; drove C. Marius, who was the defender of this city, out of it; baniſhed many other brave Romans, and ſlaughtered many. Cn. Octavius the conſul expelled his collegue from the city by force of arms; and this place, where I now ſpeak, was filled with heaps of ſlain, and flowed with the blood of citizens. Cinna prevailed next, with Marius; and then it was that the bright luminaries of our ſtate were extinguiſhed by the ſlaughter of her moſt eminent members. Sylla afterwards took vengeance for this cruel victory; with what infinite bloodſhed, with what calamity to the ſtate, it is needleſs to relate. Lepidus, in the quarrel which he had with that brave and renowned Roman, Catulus, not only brought ruin upon himſelf, but likewiſe upon others, the loſs of whom was much more afflicting to the ſtate. Yet all theſe diſſentions, Romans, tended not ſo much to deſtroy, as to alter our government. It was not the deſign of the authors of them, that there ſhould be no commonwealth, but that they ſhould be maſters of it; they did not deſire to ſee Rome in flames, but to rule in Rome. All theſe civil broils, however, none of which tended to the overthrow of the ſtate, were of ſuch a nature, that they never ended in the reconciliation of parties, but in the

ſlaughter

ſlaughter of citizens. It is not ſo in the preſent war, a war the greateſt and moſt mercileſs that was ever known; ſuch a war as the greateſt barbarians never carried on with their own nation; a war, wherein Lentulus, Catiline, Caſſius, and Cethegus, laid it down as a rule, to reckon all as enemies, who for their own preſervation were intereſted in ſaving the ſtate. In this war, Romans, I have acted in ſuch a manner, as to preſerve you all; and though your enemies had concluded, that no more of you ſhould remain, than could eſcape the general maſſacre; and that juſt ſo much of Rome ſhould ſtand, as the flames would not devour, yet I have preſerved both your perſons and city ſafe and intire.

For all theſe important ſervices, Romans, I deſire no other reward from you, no other badge of diſtinction, no other monuments of glory, than the eternal remembrance of this day. It is in your hearts I would have all my triumphs, all my trappings and trophies of glory and honour, founded and preſerved. No ſilent monument of praiſe, nothing void of life, in a word, nothing attainable by perſons of inferior merit, can afford me any delight. In your remembrance, Romans, my actions ſhall be ever cheriſhed; your praiſes ſhall render their fame ever freſh and flouriſhing; your annals tranſmit them down from age to age: and on the ſame day ſhall the deliverance of the ſtate, and my conſulſhip be, I hope, eternally commemorated; nor ſhall it ever be forgot, that there were two citizens living at the ſame time in the commonwealth, the one of whom was terminating the extent of the empire by the bounds of the horizon itſelf, the other preſerving the ſeat and capital of that empire.

But as my caſe is different from theirs who conduct your wars abroad, who leave their enemies either

either deſtroyed or incapable of troubling them, whilſt I muſt live with thoſe whom I have conquered and ſubdued, it is your part, Romans, to take care, that, as the good actions of others are beneficial to them, mine may not be detrimental to me. I have taken care that the guilty and bloody purpoſes of the moſt daring offenders ſhould not hurt you; it is now your buſineſs to take care that they never hurt me. Though in truth, citizens, I have nothing to fear from my enemies; for ſtrong is the protection of the worthy, a protection of which I am for ever aſſured; mighty is the authority of the ſtate, which will always defend me, without uttering a word; and great is the power of conſcience, which they who violate, muſt needs betray themſelves, while they endeavour to injure me. Such too is my ſpirit, Romans, that I will not only never yield to the audaciouſneſs of any, but even voluntarily attack all the profligate. But if our domeſtic enemies ſhould point their united rage, from which I have preſerved you, at me alone; it muſt belong to you, Romans, to conſider, in what ſituation thoſe will be left for the future, whoſe zeal for your preſervation expoſes them to perſonal hate, and dangers of every kind.

As for me, what can I further acquire, that can heighten the reliſh of life? when there is no higher dignity for you to confer upon me, no higher degree of glory ariſing from virtue, to be aſpired after, than what I have already attained. One thing, Romans, I ſhall certainly effect; I ſhall, in my private condition, defend and ſupport what I acted in my conſulſhip: that if I have incurred any envy for preſerving the ſtate, it may hurt the envious, but advance my glory. In ſhort, I ſhall behave in the ſtate in ſuch a manner, as ever to keep before my eyes my paſt ſervices to it, and ſhew, that what I did

did was not the effect of chance but of virtue. Do you, Romans, ſince it is now night, pray to Jupiter your guardian, and the guardian of Rome; then retire to your ſeveral houſes, and, though the danger is now over, yet keep the ſame watch in them as you did before. That you may have no occaſion to do it any longer, but be able, for the future, to live in uninterrupted quiet, ſhall be my care.

THE

THE FOURTH
ORATION
AGAINST
CATILINE.

Spoken in the SENATE.

I Perceive, conſcript fathers, every countenance, every eye fixed upon me. I perceive you all ſolicitious not only for your own and your country's danger, but were theſe repelled, for mine alſo. Such affectionate concern for me gives me pleaſure and delight even in diſtreſs; but I beſeech you by the immortal gods, to lay it aſide, and, without regarding my ſafety, to think only of your own, and that of your children. Since my conſulſhip is attended with ſuch circumſtances, that I am ſubjected to all manner of affliction, pain, and anguiſh, I will bear them not only courageouſly but chearfully, if by my labours I can only ſecure your dignity and ſafety, with that of the Roman people.

Such, conſcript fathers, has been the lot of my conſulſhip, that neither the Forum, that center of equity; nor the field conſecrated by ſolemn auſpices; nor the ſenate-houſe, the refuge of all nations; nor domeſtic walls, the retreat of all men; nor the bed deſtined to reſt; nay, nor this honourable ſeat, this chair of ſtate, have been free from ſnares, and the perils of death. Many things have I diſſembled; much have I ſuffered; much have I

yielded; and, to deliver you from your fears, I have undergone much pain myſelf. If the immortal gods have determined that I ſhould finiſh my conſulſhip by reſcuing you, conſcript fathers, and the Roman people from a bloody doom; your wives, your children, and the veſtal virgins, from the moſt barbarous uſage; the temples and altars of the gods, with our fair country, from the moſt execrable flames; and all Italy from war and deſolation; I am content with whatever fate ſhall attend me: for if P. Lentulus, upon the faith of augurs, thought that his name was deſtined to bring deſtruction upon the ſtate; why ſhould not I rejoice that my conſulſhip has been reſerved, as it were, by fate, for its preſervation?

Conſult your own ſafety then, conſcript fathers: provide for your country; ſecure yourſelves, your wives, your children, and your fortunes; defend the lives and dignity of the people of Rome, and drop your tenderneſs and concern for me. For, firſt, I have reaſon to hope that the gods, the protectors of this city, will reward me according to my ſervices. Then ſhould any unexpected fate befall me, I ſhall die with firmneſs and reſolution; for death can never be diſhonourable to a brave man; nor premature to one who has bore the conſulſhip; nor afflicting to the wiſe. Not that I am ſo loſt to all the feelings of nature, as not to be ſenſibly affected with the grief of my dear and loving brother here preſent, and the tears of thoſe who ſurround me. A wife too, ſinking under ſorrow, a daughter ſtruck with fear, an infant ſon, whom, methinks I now ſee my country embracing, as the pledge of my conſulſhip, and a ſon-in-law, whom I here ſee waiting the iſſue of this day, often recal my thoughts to my family. All theſe objects move me; yet I had rather that they were preſerved together

with

with you, even at the price of my own blood; than that they, and all of us, ſhould be involved in the common ruin of the ſtate.

Turn your whole care upon the commonwealth, then, conſcript fathers, watch on every ſide againſt approaching ſtorms, which, without your vigilance, will overwhelm you. It is not a Tiberius Gracchus aſpiring a ſecond time to the tribuneſhip of the people; nor a C. Gracchus exciting ſedition, on account of the Agrarian law; nor a L. Saturninus, the murderer of Memmius, who is now in judgment before you; but criminals who remained at Rome, to fire the city, to deſtroy you all, and to receive Catiline. Their letters, their ſeals, their own confeſſions, are in your poſſeſſion: they are convicted of having ſolicited the Allobroges to revolt, ſpirited up the ſlaves to rebel, ſent for Catiline, and of having propoſed to put all to the ſword without exception, that not a ſoul might be left to lament the extinction of the Roman commonwealth, and the overthrow of ſo mighty an empire.

All this the witneſſes have verified; the criminals have confeſſed; and you have already, by ſeveral determinations, declared it to be true. In the firſt place, you returned me thanks in the moſt honourable terms, and teſtified, that, by my courage and vigilance, this deſperate conſpiracy was diſcovered. In the next place, you forced Lentulus to abdicate the prætorſhip; then you gave orders that he, and the reſt whom you tried, ſhould be committed to cuſtody; and what is chiefly obſervable, you appointed a thankſgiving in my name, an honour which was never conferred upon any in civil office before me. Laſtly, you yeſterday decreed large rewards to the deputies of the Allobroges, and T. Volturcius: all which things plainly ſhew, that

thoſe, whom you ordered by name to priſon, were, without any ſcruple, condemned by you.

But I have reſolved, conſcript fathers, to propoſe to you anew the queſtion both of the fact and puniſhment, after having premiſed what is incumbent upon me to ſay as conſul. I have long obſerved a ſpirit of rage and fury prevailing in the ſtate, and ſeveral dangerous innovations forming, but I never imagined that ſo great, ſo dreadful a conſpiracy, was entered into by citizens. Now whatever determination you come to, you muſt come to it before night. You have already had full evidence of the enormity of the guilt; and if you think there are but few concerned in it, you are widely miſtaken. The evil has ſpread farther than you imagine; it has diffuſed itſelf not only over all Italy, but has paſſed the Alps, and gliding imperceptably along, has infected many provinces. Delay and forbearance will never cruſh it: whatever puniſhment you reſolve upon, you muſt execute it ſpeedily.

I perceive as yet but two opinions; the one of D. Silanus, who is for putting thoſe to death who have conſpired to deſtroy the commonwealth; the other of C. Cæſar, who, excepting death, propoſes every other rigorous puniſhment. Both agreeably to their dignity, and the importance of the cauſe, are for treating them with the utmoſt ſeverity. The former thinks, that thoſe, who endeavoured to deprive us and the Roman people of life, to aboliſh the empire of Rome, and extinguiſh the very name of it, are unworthy of breathing this vital air, and of enjoying the benefit of living a moment; he ſhews likewiſe that this puniſhment has been often inflicted on ſeditious citizens in this ſtate. The latter conceives, that death was not appointed by the immortal gods as a puniſhment, but either as a ne-

neceſſary law of nature, or a deliverance from our miſeries; accordingly, the wiſe never meet it unwillingly, the brave often voluntarily; but that bonds, eſpecially if perpetual, were certainly contrived for the puniſhment of deteſtable crimes. He therefore adviſes that the criminals be adjudged to chains, and diſtributed among the municipal towns. In this propoſal, however, there ſeems to be ſome injuſtice, if you order it; or ſome difficulty if you only deſire it. Yet if you think proper, let it be decreed; I will undertake to find thoſe (and I hope I ſhall be able to do it) who will think it unſuitable to their dignity to refuſe complying with what you judge neceſſary for the common ſafety. He adds a heavy penalty on the municipal towns, if any of the criminals ſhould eſcape; he ſurrounds them with dreadful guards; and, as ſuch abandoned profligates deſerve, provides, by ſevere ſanctions, againſt any application to the ſenate or people, for a mitigation of their puniſhment. Nay, he even deprives them of hope, the only comfort of the miſerable; orders their eſtates to be confiſcated, and leaves the guilty wretches nothing but life: doubtleſs, becauſe were he to deprive them of that, he would eaſe them at once of all farther pain, either of mind or body, and all the ſufferings due to their crimes. On this account it was, that, to keep the wicked under ſome awe in this life, the ancients invented future puniſhments for them; imagining, that death itſelf would be ſtripped of all its terrors, were the dread of ſuch to be taken away.

Now, conſcript fathers, I ſee how much my particular intereſt is concerned, that you ſhould follow Cæſar's opinion; becauſe, as he has taken what is accounted the popular part in the ſtate, I ſhall perhaps be ſecured from any popular inſults, when it is known that he is the author of this vote; but if

you follow Silanus's, I know not what difficulties it may bring me under. Let a regard, however, to the intereſts of the commonwealth outweigh all conſiderations of my danger. Cæſar, agreeable to his dignity, and the luſtre of his anceſtors, has made a propoſal, which is, as it were, a perpetual pledge of his affection to his country, and which ſhews the difference between the affected lenity of our declaimers, and a truly patriot ſpirit, wholly concerned for the people's ſafety. I cannot but obſerve, that one of thoſe who would be thought popular, has abſented himſelf from this day's debate, that he might not give a vote upon the life of a Roman citizen: yet he declared, the other day, for committing Roman citizens to priſon; voted a thankſgiving for me; and yeſterday concurred with us in beſtowing great rewards upon the informers. It can remain a doubt with none then, what his ſentiments were on the merits of the cauſe, when he voted for impriſonment to the accuſed, public thanks to the impleader, and rewards to the informers.

C. Cæſar, however, urges the Sempronian law, which ſecures the lives of Roman citizens; but he knows very well, that whoever is an enemy to the commonweath, can no longer be conſidered as a citizen; nay, that the author of that law ſuffered death himſelf, by the order of the people. Nor can ſuch a perſon as the profuſe and prodigal Lentulus be accounted by Cæſar a popular man, when he has contrived ſuch peſtilent and bloody ſchemes for the deſtruction of the Roman people, and the ruin of this city. Accordingly, tho' he be a man of the moſt mild and merciful temper, he makes no ſcruple in condemning Lentulus to a gloomy priſon for life; and enacts, that, for the future, none ſhall propoſe a mitigation of his puniſhment, to pre-

prevent any one's boaſting, or becoming popular by a ſtep ſo pernicious to the Roman people. He likewiſe ſubjoins the confiſcation of their goods, that want and beggary may be added to every other torment of ſoul and body. If you follow Cæſar's opinion, therefore, you will give me a companion to the aſſembly, who is very dear to the Roman people; or if you prefer that of Silanus, you will eaſily defend both yourſelves and me from the imputation of cruelty; nay, I ſhall prove, that it is by far the gentler courſe.

Yet, conſcript fathers, where is the cruelty in puniſhing ſuch enormous treaſon? The judgment I have declared upon the matter is the real ſentiment of my heart. And may I never enjoy the benefit of my country's ſafety, together with you, if my ardor on this occaſion, proceeds from any ſeverity of temper; for who has leſs of it? but from pure humanity and tenderneſs. For, methinks, I ſee this magnificent city, the glory of the earth, and the refuge of all nations, ſwallowed up in one ſudden flame. My imagination preſents to view heaps of ſlaughtered citizens unburied, and my country in ruins: I have now Cethegus full in my eye, quenching his frantic rage in your blood. Next, when I figure to myſelf Lentulus reigning with abſolute ſway, a lot which he himſelf acknowledges the Fates encouraged him to hope for; Gabinius in a purple robe; and Catiline arrived with an army; I am ſtruck with horror at what follows: the ſhrieks of matrons, the flight of virgins and boys, and even the violation of the holy veſtals. Now as theſe appear to me ſhocking and deplorable calamities, I act with rigour towards thoſe who endeavoured to introduce them. Suppoſe a maſter of a family found his children butchered, his wife murdered, his houſe burnt, by a

ſlave; in inflicting the moſt rigorous puniſhment upon that ſlave, would he be looked upon as tender and compaſſionate, or very inhuman and barbarous? To me he would appear quite ſavage and cruel, if he did not endeavour to ſooth his own anguiſh and ſufferings, by the ſufferings and anguiſh of the guilty cauſe.

Thus with regard to theſe criminals, who intended to ſlaughter us all, our wives, and children; who endeavoured to raze our ſeveral dwellings, and this city, the center of our commonwealth; who deſigned to ſettle the Allobroges upon the ruins of Rome, and in the aſhes of our empire; if we treat them with the utmoſt ſeverity, we ſhall be reckoned compaſſionate; but if we exerciſe lenity towards them, we muſt be branded with the everlaſting infamy of the greateſt cruelty, in expoſing our country and fellow-citizens to ruin. Unleſs any one will charge L. Cæſar, that brave man, that hearty friend to his country, with cruelty, for declaring, the other day, in the ſenate, that the huſband of his ſiſter, a lady of diſtinguiſhed merit, deſerved to die, and that in his preſence and hearing: alleging the example of his grandfather, who was ſlain by the conſul's orders, and his ſon, though yet a youth, executed in priſon, when ſent on a meſſage by his father. Had they committed any offence like this? had they formed any conſpiracy for the deſtruction of the ſtate? A ſpirit of courting the people by procuring grants in their favour, prevailed then in the ſtate, whence oppoſite parties began to be formed; and at that time the illuſtrious grandfather of this very Lentulus took arms, and fell upon Gracchus; nay, to prevent the ſtate from loſing any of its rights, he was grieveouſly wounded. The preſent Lentulus, to overturn the very foundations of the ſtate, ſends for the Gauls,

ſtirs

ſtirs up the ſlaves to rebel, invites Catiline, delivers us up to be butchered by Cethegus, the reſt of the citizens to be murdered by Gabinius, the city to be ſet on fire by Caſſius, and all Italy to be ravaged and plundered by Catiline. Can I imagine then that you are afraid of being charged with too much ſeverity, in proceeding againſt ſuch monſtrous and inhuman guilt? When you have much more cauſe to be afraid of being thought cruel towards your country for a remiſſneſs of puniſhing, than for any ſeverity that can be ſhewn to ſuch outrageous enemies. But I cannot conceal what I hear: a rumour has reached my ears, ſpread abroad by ſuch as ſeem to be afraid that I have not a ſufficient force to ſupport and execute your ſentence.

All neceſſary meaſures, conſcript fathers, are concerted, and every thing is fully provided, which is not ſo much owing to my great care and vigilance, as to the ſtrong deſire the Roman people have diſcovered of retaining their ſovereignty, and preſerving their fortunes in full ſecurity. The whole body of the people is aſſembled to ſupport us, men of every rank, and of every age: the Forum, the temples round the Forum, and all the avenues to this houſe are crouded. This, indeed, is the only cauſe, ſince the building of Rome, wherein all have been unanimous, if you except thoſe, who, finding their own ruin inevitable, choſe rather to involve the whole community in their doom, than fall by themſelves. Such I chearfully except, and ſeparate from the reſt; for they are not to be accounted peſtilent citizens, but inveterate enemies. As for all others, immortal gods! in what crouds, with what ardor, with what courage do they all concur to preſerve the public dignity and welfare! Why need I mention the Roman knights, men, who,

who, whilſt they do not diſpute the ſuperiority of your rank, nor your right to preſide in the public councils, yet vie with you in their zeal for the republic; whom, after a diſſention of many years, this day's cauſe has reconciled and firmly attached to us. This union, which my conſulſhip has confirmed, if we can but perpetuate, be aſſured by me, that no civil or domeſtic evil can ever again diſturb the ſtate.

I ſee that the brave tribunes of the exchequer have aſſembled with equal zeal in defence of their country, together with all the officers, who, happening to meet this day at the treaſury in great numbers, have neglected their private concerns, and been ſolely intent upon the public ſafety. We have likewiſe, to aſſiſt us, the whole body of free-born citizens, even the meaneſt. For who is there, to whom theſe temples, the face of this city, the enjoyment of liberty, nay, the common light, and the very ſoil of our country, are not only dear, but delightful?

What deſerves to be conſidered too, conſcript fathers, is the zeal of thoſe freed-men, who, having by their merit obtained the right of citizens, look upon this as their native country; whereas ſome born here, and to diſtinguiſhed privileges too, regard this not as their country, but as an enemy's city.

But what need is there to mention thoſe, who are rouſed to take upon them the defence of their country, either from their regards to private intereſt, to the public good, or from their love of liberty, that darling bleſſing? There is not a ſlave, whoſe condition of life is but tolerable, who does not look with abhorrence upon the daring rebellion of

of our countrymen; who does not wiſh the ſafety of Rome; who does not contribute whatever he dares, whatever he is allowed, towards the publick ſecurity.

If any of you, therefore, are ſhocked with the report, that an infamous agent of Lentulus is running from ſhop to ſhop, and ſoliciting the needy and thoughtleſs; it is indeed true, the thing has been attempted: but none were found ſo wretched in their condition, or ſo abandoned in their inclinations, as to follow him: they are all deſirous to preſerve their mean habitations, where they labour, and earn their daily bread, together with their little huts and beds; and to ſecure their peaceful courſe of life. The far greater part of thoſe, who live in ſhops, or rather all of them indeed, are lovers of peace: for their whole ſtock, their whole induſtry and profit is ſupported by the fulneſs and peace of the city. Now if their gain is leſſened by ſhutting up their ſhops, what muſt be the conſequence, if they were burnt?

Since the Roman people then, conſcript fathers, are not wanting in their duty towards you, it is your part not to be wanting to the Roman people. You have a conſul ſnatched from a variety of dangers and ſnares, nay from the jaws of death itſelf, for your preſervation, rather than that of his own life. All ranks of men unite in opinion, in inclination, in zeal, in courage, and in voice to ſecure the commonwealth. Your common country, beſet with the brands and weapons of impious rebellion, ſtretches out her ſuppliant hands to you: to you ſhe recommends herſelf; to you the lives of all the citizens; to you the caſtle and capitol; to you the altars of the houſhold gods; to you the eternal fire of Veſta; to you all the temples and altars

altars of the gods; to you the walls and dwellings of this city. Beſides, this day you are to paſs judgment on your own lives, upon thoſe of your wives and children, upon the fortunes of all, upon your houſes and private property. You have a leader, ſuch as is not always to be met with, watchful for you, and regardleſs of himſelf. You have likewiſe, what was never known before in any publick caſe, all ranks, all men, the whole body of the Roman people, of one and the ſame mind. Conſider how one night had almoſt demoliſhed the mighty fabric of this empire, reared with ſuch vaſt labour; had almoſt deſtroyed its liberty, eſtabliſhed with ſo much bravery, and diſſipated all that profuſion of accumulated wealth, for which we are indebted to the ſignal munificence and protection of the gods. That ſuch treaſon may not only never be accompliſhed, but not ſo much as thought of by any citizen, it is your buſineſs this day to provide. Theſe conſiderations, I have urged, not with a view to animate your zeal, in which you almoſt ſurpaſs me, but to diſcharge the duty of conſul, who ought to have the leading voice in the ſtate.

Before I conclude, conſcript fathers, I ſhall offer a few words with regard to myſelf. I perceive that I have drawn upon me the enmity of the whole body of conſpirators, which you are ſenſible is very great: I look upon them, however, as a baſe, impotent, abject, and contemptible faction. But if, through the madneſs and villainy of any, they ſhould ever prevail againſt your authority, and that of the ſtate; yet, conſcript fathers, I ſhall never repent of my preſent conduct and counſels. For death, with which perhaps they may threaten me, is prepared for all men; but no one ever acquired that glory of life, which you

you have conferred upon me by your decrees. To all others you have decreed thanks for the ſucceſsful management of the ſtate; to me alone for having ſaved it.

Let Scipio be celebrated, he, whoſe conduct and valour forced Hannibal to return into Africa, and abandon Italy; let the other Scipio be crowned with diſtinguiſhed renown, who deſtroyed Numantia and Carthage, thoſe inveterate enemies of Rome. Let high fame ever follow L. Paulus, whoſe triumph was graced with the captivity of Perſes, that once powerful and glorious prince. Let Marius be covered with eternal honour, who twice delivered Italy from invaſion, and the fear of ſlavery; let Pompey be preferred to all others, whoſe exploits and virtues extend to the remoteſt regions viſited by the ſun; ſurely amidſt all theſe, ſome place will be left for my praiſe: unleſs it is greater merit to open a way into new provinces, than to take care that our conquerors may have a home to return to. A foreign victory is indeed, in one reſpect, preferable to a domeſtick one; becauſe foreign enemies, if once conquered, either become ſubmiſſive, or, if received into alliance, reckon themſelves under the tie of gratitude: but when citizens are ſeized with madneſs to ſuch a degree as to become rebels, if their plots againſt the ſtate are baffled, you can neither keep them quiet by force, nor oblige them by favours. I ſee then that I have undertaken an eternal war with traiterous citizens; but I am confident, it will never hurt me nor mine, while I have ſo powerful a ſupport in your protection, and that of every worthy man, and in the memory of thoſe dangers that ſurrounded us; dangers which will

will ever be remembered, not only by thoſe who were delivered from them, but by all nations. Nor will any force be found ſtrong enough to ſhake the preſent union between you and the Roman knights, ſupported by ſo powerful a confederacy of all good citizens.

Inſtead, therefore, conſcript fathers, of the command of armies; inſtead of the province which I declined; inſtead of the triumph, and the other diſtinctions of honour, which I rejected for your preſervation, and that of the city; inſtead of all the advantages of friends and dependants in the provinces, which I employ the publick aid to ſupport as much as I do to acquire; for all theſe ſervices; for all the inſtances of my ardent concern for your intereſts; and for all the proofs which you ſee of my unwearied diligence to preſerve the ſtate; I require nothing more of you, than the remembrance of this juncture, and of the whole of my conſulſhip. While that continues fixed in your minds, I ſhall think myſelf ſurrounded with an impregnable bulwark. But ſhould the violence of the wicked defeat my hopes, and prevail againſt me; to you I recommend my infant ſon, to whom, I truſt, it will be a ſufficient guard not only of his ſafety but of his dignity, that you remember him to be the ſon of one, who, at the hazard of his own life, preſerved you all. As you regard, therefore, conſcript fathers, your very lives, with thoſe of your wives and children; as you regard your religion and property; as you regard your ſanctuaries, your temples, your habitations, and the dwellings of this city; as you regard your empire, your liberty, the preſervation of Italy, and

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the whole commonwealth; proceed, as you have determined, to ſome vigorous and reſolute decree. You have a conſul, who will not only, without heſitation, obey your decrees, but likewiſe, while he breathes, in perſon defend and execute them.

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JUGURTHA.

THE WAR AGAINST JUGURTHA.

IT is an unjuſt complaint that mankind have made of their nature, as being frail and of ſhort duration, and governed more by chance, than by virtue. For on the contrary, you will find nothing, upon reflection, greater or more excellent: and that men want induſtry more than time or abilities.

The director and governor of human life is the ſoul; which, when it purſues glory in the paths of virtue, is abundantly prevalent, nay even crowned with renown, and ſtands in no need of the aids of fortune, which can neither beſtow, nor take away probity, induſtry, or any worthy quality. But when the ſoul becomes enſlaved to ignoble paſſions, and, abandoning itſelf to indolence and ſenſual pleaſure, has, by a courſe of debauchery, loſt in ſloth, its vigour, time, and abilities, the frailty of nature is blamed. For it is uſual with men to blame the courſe of things for the evils they bring upon themſelves. Whereas would they but engage in virtuous purſuits with the ſame ardor and ſpirit as they do in ſuch as are unintereſting,

nay and dangerous too; they would no more be governed by fortune, than fortune by them; they would even arrive at ſuch ſublime heights of grandeur, as, from being mortals, to become immortal through glory.

For as man is compounded of ſoul and body, ſo all our actions, and all our purſuits partake of the one or the other. Acccordingly beauty, great wealth, ſtrength of body, and other things of the like nature, are of ſhort duration; but the noble productions of the ſoul are, like itſelf, immortal. Moreover, the good things of the body, and of fortune, as they have a beginning, ſo they have a period; and all things indeed that riſe and increaſe, fall and decay. But the ſoul is incorruptible and immortal; the governor of human kind; which animates and comprehends all things, but is comprehended by nothing itſelf. So that the depravity of thoſe is the more ſurprizing, who, ſunk in ſenſuality, ſpend their lives in luxury and idleneſs; and ſuffer their minds, the nobleſt and moſt refined part of their frame, to lie uncultivated, and languiſh in indolence; eſpecially, ſince there are ſo many and ſuch various accompliſhments by which the mind may acquire the higheſt renown.

Magiſtracy, and high command, though among the number of ſuch purſuits, yet do not appear to me to be at all deſireable, at this conjuncture; nor indeed any ſhare in the adminiſtration: ſince honours are neither beſtowed on the virtuous, nor are they who obtain authority by infamous means, the more ſecure, or the more honourable, for enjoying it. For to govern your country and kindred by force, though you may have it in your power, and may even rectify abuſes, is however a dangerous ſituation; eſpecially ſince all innovations in a

ſtate,

ſtate threaten ſlaughter, baniſhment, and all the miſeries of war. To ſtrive for power to no purpoſe, and to reap nothing, by continual fatigue, but publick odium, is extreme madneſs; unleſs we imagine any one to be poſſeſſed of ſo baſe and pernicious a ſpirit, as to ſacrifice his honour and liberty to the power of a few.

Among the different ways of employing men's abilities, that of writing hiſtory is of eminent uſe; but I ſhall ſay nothing of its excellence, becauſe many have already ſhewn it; and leſt I ſhould be charged with vanity, for extolling what I am myſelf engaged in. There are ſome, however, I doubt not, who, becauſe I have reſolved to paſs my days at a diſtance from any ſhare in the management of publick affairs, will be ready to call this my undertaking, however great and uſeful in itſelf, an indolent amuſement: this, at leaſt, will be the language of ſuch, who think the taſk of ſaluting the people by their names, and courting their favour by feaſts, the greateſt of all.

But if theſe men will only conſider at what times I was promoted in the ſtate; the dignity of thoſe, who were then unſucceſsful in their purſuit of employment; and what ſort of men have ſince got into the ſenate, they will certainly allow, that I altered my ſentiments upon juſt grounds, and not from indolence; and that the ſtate will reap more benefit by my retiring from buſineſs, than by the caballings of others. For I have often heard that Q. Maximus and P. Scipio, with other great men of our ſtate, were wont to ſay, that, upon beholding the images of their anceſtors, their minds were powerfully animated to virtue. Not that the wax, or the figure, made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon their minds; it was only the recollection of the

glorious atchievements of their fore-fathers, that excited that generous flame in the breaſts of thoſe brave men, which they could never extinguiſh, till they had attained the like degree of glory and reputation.

How different are the manners of the preſent age; in which there is not a man to be found, who vies with his anceſtors in probity and induſtry, but in riches only and extravagance. Nay, even perſons of obſcure birth, who were formerly wont to anticipate nobility by their virtuous deeds, aſpire now after places of honour and power, by ſecret contrivances, and money got by injuſtice and violence, rather than by worthy accompliſhments. As if the prætorſhip, conſulſhip, and all the other dignities, conferred glory and renown of themſelves, and did not owe their eſtimation to the good behaviour of ſuch as are veſted with them. But I have been carried too far, and taken too much freedom, from my concern for the depravity of the ſtate. Now I come to my purpoſe.

I am going to write the hiſtory of a war, which the Roman people carried on with Jugurtha king of the Numidians: a ſubject which I have made choice of, becauſe, in the firſt place, the war was a terrible and obſtinate one, and the ſucceſs long uncertain; and likewiſe becauſe a check was then given, for the firſt time, to the exorbitant pride of the nobility: a contention which confounded all things, divine and human; and was carried to ſuch a height of madneſs and fury, that it ended in a civil war, and the deſolation of Italy. But before I enter upon this taſk, I ſhall trace a few things backwards, that what follows may appear in a clearer and ſtronger light.

During

During the ſecond Punic war, wherein Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, reduced the power of Italy, more than had ever been done ſince the Roman name became formidable, Maſiniſſa, king of the Numidians, being received into the Roman friendſhip, by P. Scipio, afterwards ſurnamed Africanus, on account of his gallant atchievements, performed many and glorious exploits: in conſideration of which, when the Carthaginians were overcome, and Syphax taken, who had an extenſive and powerful kingdom in Africa, all the cities and lands that had been taken from him, were given to Maſiniſſa by the Roman people. This prince continued a faithful and uſeful ally to us, till death put an end to his reign: upon which, his ſon Micipſa ſucceeded alone to the kingdom, his brothers Manaſtabal and Guluſſa dying ſome time before. Micipſa had two ſons, Atherbal and Hiemſal; but kept at his court, and educated with the ſame care as his own children, the ſon of his brother Manaſtabal, called Jugurtha, whom Maſiniſſa had left in a private condition, becauſe he was born of a concubine.

This youth, when he grew up, with all the advantages of ſtrength of body, a graceful perſon, and, above all, a fine genius, did not ſuffer himſelf to be carried away with luxury and idleneſs; but, agreeably to the manners of the nation, accuſtomed himſelf to ride, to throw the dart, to contend with his companions in running; and though he ſurpaſſed all in glory, he was ſtill beloved by all. Beſides, he ſpent a good deal of time in the chaſe: and was always the firſt, or amongſt the firſt, in wounding the lion, and other wild beaſts; and though he performed a great many brave deeds, he never boaſted of himſelf. Micipſa was at firſt

highly pleaſed with this, thinking that the bravery of Jugurtha would reflect glory upon his reign; but when he conſidered, that he himſelf was now grown old, that his children were very young, and that Jugurtha was in the prime of life, and growing daily in reputation, he was deeply affected, and his mind diſtracted with perplexing thoughts. The conſideration of the ambitious nature of man, and his impetuoſity in gratifying his deſires, alarmed him; and likewiſe the favourable opportunity ariſing from his own age, and that of his children, which was a temptation ſtrong enough to tranſport even men of moderate views; add to all this, the great affection of the Numidians for Jugurtha, which made him apprehenſive, leſt, ſhould he deſtroy him by artifice, it might occaſion a ſedition, or a civil war.

Being thus beſet with difficulties, and finding that it was not poſſible for him to deſtroy ſo popular a man, either by force or fraud, he reſolved to expoſe him to the dangers of war, as he was of a daring diſpoſition, and fond of military glory, and thus try what fortune would do. Accordingly, Micipſa, being to diſpatch auxiliaries of horſe and foot to the Romans, who were then laying ſiege to Numantia, ſent him to Spain, as their commander; in hopes that he would be cut off, either from an oſtentation of his courage, or the efforts of the enemy. But that matter fell out quite contrary to his expectation. For as ſoon as Jugurtha, who had great vivacity and penetration, became acquainted with the temper of P. Scipio the Roman general, and the character of the enemy, he in a ſhort time acquired ſo high renown, by his great labour and application, his ſubmiſſive obedience to orders, and expoſing himſelf often to dangers, that he was extremely beloved by our men, and dreaded by the Nu-

Numantians. He was, indeed, both brave in action, and wiſe in council; qualities very ſeldom united in the ſame perſon: precaution being generally accompanied with fear, and courage with raſhneſs.

Accordingly Scipio employed Jugurtha to put all his moſt difficult enterprizes in execution, took him into the number of his intimate friends, and grew fonder of him daily, as one who ſucceeded in all his ſchemes and undertakings. To theſe advantages were added great generoſity and addreſs; by which means he had contracted an intimate friendſhip with many of the Romans.

There were many at that time in our army, ſome of high rank, others newly raiſed, who preferred riches to virtue and honour; men of factious diſpoſitions, of great power at Rome, and more diſtinguiſhed among our allies by their figure, than their honeſty. Theſe inflamed the mind of Jugurtha (of itſelf ambitious enough) by aſſuring him, 'that when Micipſa died, he alone would have the 'kingdom of Numidia; as he was a perſon of ſuch 'diſtinguiſhed merit, and all things venal at Rome.'

Upon the deſtruction of Numantia, when Scipio had determined to diſmiſs the auxiliaries, and return home himſelf, having beſtowed great preſents and high encomiums upon Jugurtha, in preſence of the whole army, he brought him into his tent; and there adviſed him in private, 'to court the friend-'ſhip of the Roman people in a publick rather 'than private way, and not to beſtow bribes on any: 'that it was dangerous to purchaſe from a few, 'what belonged to all. If he would but continue 'in his virtuous practices, that glory and ſove-'reignty would fall to him of courſe; but if he

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'hurried on precipitately, his money would prove 'his ruin.'

After having given him this advice, he diſmiſſed him with the following letter to Micipſa. 'Your 'nephew Jugurtha has highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, 'during the ſiege of Numantia; which, I am ſure, 'will give you great joy. His great merit has made 'him dear to me; and I ſhall uſe my endeavours 'that he be ſo to the ſenate and people of Rome. 'I congratulate you, indeed, on this occaſion, as 'my friend: for in him you have a man worthy 'of you, and his grandfather Maſiniſſa.'

The king finding that what he had learned from common fame, was confirmed by Scipio's letter, was ſo touched with the merit and intereſt of the man, that he altered his purpoſes, and endeavoured to gain him by favours. Accordingly he immediately adopted him, and by his will, made him joint-heir with his ſons to the kingdom. A few years after, being worn out with age and infirmities, and finding that the period of his life was approaching, he is ſaid to have addreſſed himſelf to Jugurtha, in the preſence of his friends and relations, as alſo of Atherbal and Hiempſal, to this purpoſe.

'I took thee, Jugurtha, when a fatherleſs infant, 'and without hopes or fortune, under my own care; 'as I promiſed myſelf, that my favours would 'render me as dear to thee, as if I had been thy 'father. Nor have I indeed been diſappointed: 'for, not to mention thy other great and noble 'atchievements, thy late behaviour at Numantia 'reflects honour upon me and my kingdom. By 'thy gallant behaviour, thou haſt united us to the 'Romans in cloſer ties of friendſhip than before;

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'and revived the honour of our family in Spain. 'In a word (what is the moſt difficult thing among 'men) thou haſt even overcome envy itſelf by thy 'glory. Now, as nature is putting a period to my 'days, I beſeech and adjure thee, by this right 'hand, and the honour of a prince, to embrace 'with a tender and affectionate regard theſe my 'ſons, thy near relations by birth; thy brethren 'by my generoſity; and not to prefer the friend-'ſhip of ſtrangers, to that of perſons united to thee 'by blood.

'It is not troops, or treaſures, that are the ſup-'port of a kingdom, but friends; whom you can 'neither acquire by force, nor purchaſe with mo-'ney: they are only to be procured by good offices 'and fidelity. Now, who ſhould be more cloſely 'united in friendſhip, than brothers? or what 'ſtranger will be found faithful to him, who is an 'enemy to his own relations? I leave you a king-'dom ſtrong indeed, if you are virtuous and agree; 'but weak, if you are wicked, and at variance 'with one another. For by union ſmall ſtates flou-'riſh, whilſt the greateſt are deſtroyed by di-'viſions.

'Now, it is more incumbent upon thee, Jugur-'tha, as ſurpaſſing thy brethren in age and wiſdom, 'to take care, that no diſſentions ariſe; for in all 'conteſts, the moſt powerful, even though he re-'ceives an injury, is ſtill thought to have done it, 'becauſe he is moſt able. As for you, Atherbal 'and Hiempſal, obſerve and reverence this worthy 'man: imitate his bravery; and let it never be 'ſaid, that Micipſa was happier in his adopted 'children than in his own.'

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Jugurtha, though he was very ſenſible of the king's inſincerity, and had himſelf quite different views from what he pretended, yet made a very dutiful reply, ſuitable to the occaſion. Micipſa died a few days after; and after his funeral was celebrated with royal magnificence by the young princes, they met together to regulate their affairs.

Hiempſal, the youngeſt of them, who was naturally violent, and had been accuſtomed to treat Jugurtha with contempt, on account of his mean birth by his mother, ſeated himſelf at Atherbal's right hand, to prevent Jugurtha's ſitting in the middle, the moſt honourable place among the Numidians: and though he was prevailed upon by the importunity of his brother to yield to ſuperior age, and go to the farther ſide, yet it was with reluctance. At this interview, after much reaſoning about the adminiſtration of affairs, Jugurtha propoſed, among other things, to repeal all the ordinances and regulations of Micipſa for the laſt five years of his life; as he was worn out with age, and the vigour of his faculties loſt. Hiempſal replied, 'that he was entirely of the ſame opi-'nion; ſince Jugurtha had been made partner 'of the kingdom by adoption, only within three 'years.'

This expreſſion ſunk deeper in Jugurtha's mind, than any one imagined; inſomuch that, from that very time, being diſtracted with rage and fear, he was eagerly bent upon the deſtruction of Hiempſal, and continually meditating by what ſecret means to effect it. But theſe operating too ſlowly for the violence of his reſentment, which was not in the leaſt abated; he determined to execute his deſign

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at any rate. At the firſt meeting of the princes, already mentioned, it was agreed, that, to prevent mutual diſputes, the publick treaſure ſhould be divided, and the kingdom too, with the portion of each marked out by diſtinct boundaries; and certain times were appointed for both theſe purpoſes, but firſt for the diſtribution of the money.

In the mean time, the young princes retired to different places adjacent to where the treaſure lay: Hiempſal, particularly, to Thermida, where he happened to lodge in the houſe of one who was Jugurtha's principal lictor, and had always been his favourite and confident. Fortune preſenting Jugurtha with ſo fit an inſtrument, he loaded him with promiſes, and prevailed upon him to go, under pretence of ſeeing his houſe, and provide himſelf with falſe keys to the gates; for the true ones were always carried to Hiempſal; aſſuring him, that, when matters were ready, he himſelf would come with a conſiderable body of men.

The Numidian ſoon executed his orders, and introduced Jugurtha's ſoldiers by night, agreeably to his inſtructions; who, as ſoon as they entered the houſe, went different ways in queſt of the prince; put to death all they found aſleep, and all ſuch as they met; ſearched every private apartment; broke open ſuch as were ſhut; and filled the whole houſe with confuſion and horror. Mean while Hiempſal was diſcovered, concealing himſelf in a mean apartment belonging to a ſervant maid, whither he had fled, full of dread, upon the firſt alarm, being unacquainted with the houſe. The Numidians, according to their inſtructions, carried his head to Jugurtha.

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The news of ſo horrible a murder ſoon flew over all Africa. Atherbal, and all thoſe who had been ſubject to Micipſa, were ſeized with terror: the Numidians divided into two parties; the greater number declared for Atherbal, but the beſt ſoldiers for Jugurtha; who immediately raiſed as great an army as poſſible, reduced ſeveral cities by force under his obedience, got others to ſubmit to him, and puſhed for nothing leſs than to be maſter of all Numidia. Atherbal, though he had diſpatched ambaſſadors to Rome, to inform the ſenate of the murder of his brother, and his own diſtreſsful ſituation, yet depending upon the number of his men, he reſolved to hazard a battle; but being defeated, upon the firſt onſet, he fled to our province, and from thence went to Rome.

Jugurtha, having thus executed his deſigns, and made himſelf maſter of all Numidia; when he came to reflect, at his leiſure, upon his enormous crimes, began to dread the Roman people, and had no hopes of ſecurity againſt their reſentment, but in the avarice of the nobility, and in his money. He therefore ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, in a few days, with great ſtore of gold and ſilver, and ordered them firſt of all to load his old friends with preſents; then to make new ones: in a word, to ſpare no money for bringing over to his intereſt as many as poſſible.

When the ambaſſadors were arrived at Rome, and, according to the king's inſtructions, had ſent large preſents to his friends, and others of great intereſt in the ſenate; ſo great a change happened, that Jugurtha, who was before held in deteſtation, grew all on a ſudden into mighty favour with the nobility; many of whom being gained over by bribes,

bribes, and others hoping to be bribed, uſed all their intereſt with every ſenator, to prevent any rigorous reſolution againſt him. When the ambaſſadors thought their cauſe was ſafe, a day was fixed for the ſenate to give audience to both parties. Upon which occaſion, it is ſaid, that Atherbal ſpoke in the following manner.

'My father's orders to me, conſcript fathers, in 'his dying moments, were, that I ſhould look upon 'myſelf as having the adminiſtration of the king-'dom of Numidia only, the right and ſovereignty 'being yours; and likewiſe to endeavour to be as 'ſerviceable to the Roman people as poſſible, both in 'war and peace; to eſteem you as my kindred and 'relations; adding, if I did ſo, I ſhould find, in 'your friendſhip, forces, riches, with every neceſ-'ſary ſupport to my kingdom. when I was going 'to purſue theſe orders of my dying father, Jugur-'tha, the moſt wicked wretch on earth, in open 'contempt of your authority, ſtripped me, the 'grandſon of Maſiniſſa, the hereditary friend and 'ally of the Roman people, of my kingdom and 'my all.

'Since I was to be reduced to ſo wretched a con-'dition, conſcript fathers, I wiſh I could have im-'plored your aid, rather on account of my own 'ſervices, than thoſe of my anceſtors; above all, 'that I could have had a title to ſuch aid, without 'ſtanding in need of it, or, if I did, have received 'it as my due. But as innocence of itſelf is but a 'weak defence; and as it was not in my power to 'form the heart of Jugurtha, I have fled to you 'for protection, conſcript fathers, to whom I am 'forced to be a burden, before I have done any 'ſervice, which is my greateſt misfortune. Other 'kings have been either conquered by you, and

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'then received into your alliance, or in their diſtreſs 'have implored your friendſhip; our family com- 'menced allies to the Roman people, during their 'war with Carthage, at a time when the Roman 'honour was more to be regarded than their for- 'tune.

'Do not ſuffer me, conſcript fathers, who am 'deſcended from that family, and the grandſon of 'Maſiniſſa, to emplore your aid in vain. If I had 'nothing to plead, in order to obtain it, but my 'wretched condition, that I, who was but lately a 'prince, of high deſcent, of ſignal renown, and 'great power, am now reduced by complicated mi- 'ſery, deſtitute and forlorn, and dependant upon 'others for ſuccour; it would ſtill become the dig- 'nity of the Roman people, to protect me from 'oppreſſion, and not to ſuffer any man to enlarge 'his territories by iniquity. But I have been for- 'ced from thoſe very poſſeſſions, which the Roman 'people gave my anceſtors, and from whence, my 'father and grandfather, in conjunction with you, 'drove Syphax and the Carthaginians. It is your 'bounty, conſcript fathers, that is torn from 'me; and in the injuries done me you are in- 'ſulted.

'Alas! miſerable man that I am! are theſe the 'fruits of thy generoſity, O my father! that he, whom 'thou didſt adopt, he, whom thou haſt left joint- 'heir to thy kingdom with thy own ſons, ſhould, of 'all others, be the inſtrument to extirpate thy race? 'ſhall our family never find quiet? muſt ours be 'ever a bloody lot? muſt the devouring ſword, and 'baniſhment, be always our portion?

'Whilſt the Carthaginians continued in power, 'no wonder we were expoſed to all manner of cala- mities.

'mities. Our enemies were at our doors, you our 'friends were afar off; and all our hopes in our 'arms. When Africa was freed from that plague, 'we enjoyed the ſweets of peace, as having no 'enemies, unleſs you commanded us to treat any 'as ſuch; when, on a ſudden, Jugurtha, with in-'ſupportable audaciouſneſs, glorying in his pride 'and cruelty, murders my brother, his near rela-'tion, and ſeizes his kingdom as the reward of 'his crime: then finding that he could not deſtroy 'me by the ſame wicked ſnares, he fell upon me 'with open force, at a time, when truſting to your 'power, I expected neither war nor violence, drove 'me from my country and my home, and reduced 'me to that wretched condition, wherein I now 'appear before you, deſtitute of every thing, and 'ſo oppreſſed with miſery, that I am ſafer any where 'than in my own kingdom.

'I have often, conſcript fathers, heard my father 'ſay, and I was myſelf of the ſame opinion, that 'whoever ſet themſelves carefully to cultivate 'friendſhip with you, were engaged indeed in an 'arduous undertaking, but were, of all others, 'the moſt ſecure. Our family has done all that 'was in their power for you; they have aſſiſted you 'in all your wars; it is in your power, conſcript 'fathers, now that you enjoy peace, to place us in 'a ſtate of ſecurity. My father left behind him us 'two brothers, and by adopting Jugurtha for a 'third, thought to engage him in the cloſeſt union 'with us. One of the three is already murdered; 'and it was with difficulty I eſcaped from the bloody 'hands of the other.

'What ſhall I do? or whether had I beſt go, 'miſerable man that I am? all the ſupports of my 'family are cut off. My father through age yielded

'to the lot of human nature; Jugurtha, trampling upon every tye of nature and gratitude, imbrued his wicked hands in the blood of my brother. My other friends and relations, wherever he took them, he has deſtroyed by a variety of cruel deaths; ſome he has crucified; others he has thrown to wild beaſts; thoſe few, whoſe lives he has ſpared, are impriſoned in gloomy dungeons, there to lead a life more inſupportable than death, in ſorrow and anguiſh.

'Were I ſtill in poſſeſſion of all that I have loſt; were my circumſtances, which are now ſo wretched, as flouriſhing as formerly, and thoſe perſons, who are now my enemies, my friends as before; I ſhould yet apply to you, conſcript fathers, for ſuccour, in caſe of any ſudden calamity befalling me; to you, whom it becomes, on account of your great power and dominion, to maintain equity and prevent injuſtice every where. But now that I am baniſhed from my country, from my home, forſaken by all, deſtitute of every thing ſuitable to my rank, to whom ſhall I go, to whom ſhall I apply for aid? Shall I apply to ſuch nations and princes, as are all the avowed enemies of our family, on account of our friendſhip with you? have I any place to go to, where there are not monuments of hoſtilities committed by my anceſtors upon your account? or can any one, who has ever been your enemy, have compaſſion upon me?

'We were, moreover, taught by Maſiniſſa, never to cultivate friendſhip with any but the Roman people, to enter into no other engagements; to make no other alliances; that in your friendſhip we ſhould find abundant ſecurity; and, if your empire ſhould fall by a change of fortune, we

'too

'too muſt be involved in the ſame ruin. By your
'own bravery, and the favour of the gods, you are
'ſtill great and mighty; all your undertakings
'are crowned with ſucceſs, and every thing yields
'to your power; ſo that you can, the more eaſily,
'redreſs the grievances of your allies. One thing only
'I am afraid of; leſt the favour of ſome perſons here
'for Jugurtha, whom they little know, ſhould give
'a wrong biaſs to their minds; ſuch, I hear, are
'making their utmoſt efforts in his behalf; and
'importuning particular ſenators not to come to
'any reſolution againſt him, in his abſence, without
'hearing his defence; alledging that my grievances
'are all pretended, and that I was under no neceſ-
'ſity of flying, but might have continued with
'ſafety in my own kingdom.

'O that I could but ſee him, by whoſe enormous
'cruelty I am reduced to this degree of wretched-
'neſs, practiſing ſuch ſimulation; and that either
'you or the immortal gods, would, for once, take
'human affairs under your care, that he who now
'boaſts and triumphs in his crimes, may atone,
'by extreme tortures, for his monſtrous ingrati-
'tude to my father, the murder of my brother, and
'the evils he has made me ſuffer.

'And now, O my deareſt brother, though thou
'wert cut off, in the flower of thy days, by the
'hands of one, who, of all men, ſhould have been
'the laſt to have done it; yet I think thy fate ra-
'ther matter of joy than of grief; for by thy fall,
'thou didſt not ſo much loſe thy kingdom, as eſ-
'cape the hardſhips of flight, baniſhment, poverty,
'and all the calamities which oppreſs me. But I,
'wretched and forlorn, driven from the throne of
'my anceſtors into an abyſs of miſery, afford a
'rueful ſpectacle of the uncertainty of human af-

'fairs; know not what courſe to take, whether I 'ſhall revenge thy wrongs, whilſt I myſelf ſtand in 'need of aſſiſtance; or whether I ſhall attempt the 'recovery of my kingdom, when my death or life 'depends on the power of others. I could wiſh it 'were honourable to put an end to my miſery, by 'a voluntary death; to prevent that infamy, which 'muſt neceſſarily fall upon me, if, ſinking under 'the weight of my afflictions, I ſhould tamely ſub-'mit to injuſtice. Now, as I have no inclination 'to live, and yet cannot die but with diſhonour, I 'adjure you, conſcript fathers, by yourſelves, by 'your children and parents, by the majeſty of the 'Roman people, ſuccour me in my diſtreſs, curb 'haughty oppreſſion, and ſuffer not the kingdom 'of Numidia, which is your own, to fall a prey to 'an uſurper, and to be ſtained with the blood of our 'family.'

When the king had made an end of ſpeaking, the deputies from Jugurtha, truſting more to their money, than the juſtice of their cauſe, made a ſhort reply, 'that Hiempſal had been put to death 'by the Numidians for his cruelty; that Atherbal, 'after he had made war without any provocation, 'and was defeated, complained, that he could not 'execute his ſchemes of oppreſſion; that Jugurtha 'begged of the ſenate, not to believe him changed 'from what they had known him at Numantia, nor 'to regard the words of an enemy more than his 'own actions.' Then both parties withdrew, and the affair was immediately debated.

The patrons of the deputies, and a great many more, corrupted by their influence, diſregarded what Atherbal had ſaid; highly extolled Jugur-tha's bravery; and by their intereſt, their plead-ings, and indeed every other poſſible method, en-deavoured as ſtrenuouſly to defend the crimes and infamy

infamy of another, as if it had been in ſupport of their own reputation. On the other hand, there were a few, who, preferring juſtice and equity to money, gave it as their opinion, that Atherbal ſhould be aſſiſted, and ample vengeance taken for Hiempſal's death. He who diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt in ſupport of this opinion, was Æmilius Scaurus, a man of high rank, active, factious, paſſionate for power, honour, and riches, but one who concealed his vices very artfully. This man perceiving that Jugurtha's money was diſtributed in a ſhameleſs and notorious manner; and fearing leſt ſuch barefaced bribery ſhould, as is uſual on the like occaſions, raiſe publick odium, reſtrained his paſſion for money.

That party, however, prevailed in the ſenate, which preferred money and favour to truth and equity; and it was decreed, that ten commiſſioners ſhould divide the kingdom, which Micipſa had poſſeſſed, between Jugurtha and Atherbal. The principal perſon in the commiſſion was L. Opimius, a man of eminence, and great authority in the ſenate, becauſe, when conſul, he had put to death C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius, and avenged the nobility upon the commons with great fury. Jugurtha, though he knew this ſenator was his friend at Rome, yet received him with the moſt ſolicitous reſpect; and, by great preſents and ample promiſes, brought him to ſacrifice honour, reputation, and in a word, every thing elſe, to his intereſt. He applied to the other commiſſioners in the ſame manner, and ſucceeded with moſt of them: ſome few indeed there were who ſet a higher value upon their honour than money. In the diviſion of the kingdom, that part of Numidia which borders upon Mauritania, and is the moſt fertile and populous, was aſſigned to Jugurtha. Atherbal had the other, which was

indeed better furniſhed with ports, and fine buildings, but of greater beauty than importance.

My ſubject here ſeems to require of me a ſhort account of the ſituation of Africa, and of thoſe nations with whom we have had war or alliance. As for thoſe other countries, which exceſſive heats, the difficulty of travelling, and vaſt deſarts, have made leſs frequented, I ſhall ſay nothing at all; it being very difficult to meet with any certain information concerning them. My account of the reſt I ſhall diſpatch with all poſſible brevity.

In the diviſion of the globe, moſt authors reckon Africa a third part of the whole; there being but few who divide it into Aſia and Europe, and include Africa in Europe. It is bounded on the weſt by the Streights, which join our ſea to the ocean; on the eaſt, by ſpacious ſloping plains, by the natives called Catabathmos. The ſea of Africa is tempeſtuous, and without harbours; the ſoil is fruitful in grain, and good for paſture, but produces few trees; here it ſeldom rains, and there are but few ſprings of water. The natives have hale bodies, are remarkable for their agility, and can endure much fatigue: moſt of them die of old age, except ſuch as are deſtroyed by the ſword or wild beaſts; for few of them are cut off by diſeaſes: noxious animals they have in great numbers.

Concerning the original inhabitants of Africa, and ſuch as ſettled in it afterwards, with the manner of their uniting together, I ſhall here give a ſhort account, different indeed from the common one, but ſuch as was interpreted to me out of the Carthaginian books, ſaid to be thoſe of king Hiempſal, and agreeable to the opinion of the natives them-

themſelves; but for the truth of the relation let the authors be accountable.

Africa was at firſt poſſeſſed by the Getulians and Libyans, a ſavage and unpoliſhed people, who lived upon the fleſh of wild beaſts, or fed upon the herbs of the field, like cattle; ſubject to no laws, diſcipline, or government: without any fixed habitation; wandering from place to place, and taking up their abode wherever night overtook them. But when Hercules died in Spain, as the Africans think he did, his army, made up of diverſe nations, having loſt their general, and many competitors ariſing for the command, diſperſed in a ſhort time. Thoſe that were Medes, Perſians, and Armenians, ſailed over into Africa, and took poſſeſſion of thoſe places that lie upon our ſea. But the Perſians ſettled nearer the ocean; and they made houſes to themſelves of their ſhips turned upſide down, becauſe there was no timber in the country, nor had they an opportunity of importing it from Spain, having no commerce with that nation, on account of its great diſtance from them by ſea, and their language, which was not underſtood there. Theſe, by degrees, mixed with the Getulians, by inter-marriages; and becauſe they were conſtantly ſhifting from place to place, trying the goodneſs of the ſoil, they called themſelves Numidians. The houſes of the Numidian peaſants, which they call mapalia, are ſtill like the hulls of ſhips, of an oblong form, with coverings riſing in the middle, and bending at each end.

The Libyans, who lived near the African ſea, mingled with the Medes and Armenians; for the Getulians lay more to the ſun, almoſt under the equinoctial line. The Libyans built cities very ſoon; for being ſeparated from Spain only by the Streights,

they exchanged commodities with that country. By degrees they corrupted the name of the Medes, calling them, in their barbarous language, Moors. Now the Perſians ſoon became a powerful people, and multiplied ſo greatly, that the youth, leaving their parents, on account of their vaſt numbers, and retaining their new name of Numidians, took poſſeſſion of the country bordering upon Carthage, which is ſtill called Numidia. Afterwards aſſiſting each other, they reduced their neighbours, either by the terror, or force of their arms, under their dominion, and thus acquired great glory and reputation, eſpecially thoſe who advanced fartheſt along our ſea-coaſt; becauſe the Libyans were leſs warlike than the Getulians. At laſt almoſt all lower Africa was poſſeſſed by the Numidians, and the conquered nations, forming but one people with the conquerors, went by the ſame name.

Afterwards the Phœnicians came; ſome of whom left their homes, to eaſe their country, which was overſtocked with inhabitants; others were prompted by ambition, and engaged the populace, and ſuch as were fond of novelty, to follow them. They built Hippo, Adrumetum, Leptis, and other cities on the ſea coaſt; which growing powerful in a ſhort time, proved, ſome of them a defence, others, an honour, to their mother cities. For, as to Carthage, I think it is better to be altogether ſilent, than to ſay but little; beſides, it is time to return to my ſubject.

From the plains of Catabathmos then, which ſeparate Egypt from Africa, as we go along the ſea-coaſt, the firſt city is Cyrene, a colony from Thera. Next to this are the two Syrtes, with Leptis between them; then the altars of the Phileni, which bound the Carthaginian empire on the ſide of Egypt; and after-

afterwards other Punic cities. The reſt of Africa, as far as Mauritania, is poſſeſſed by the Numidians: The Moors are neareſt to Spain. Above Numidia, as I have been informed, are the Getuli, who live, ſome of them, in huts, while others wander about, without any fixed abode. Beyond them are the Ethiopians; and then countries ſcorched by the heat of the ſun. In the war with Jugurtha, the Romans had governors of their own in moſt of the Punic cities, and thoſe places which had been lately ſubject to Carthage. Great part of the Getulians were under Jugurtha; and the Numidians too, as far as the river Mulucha. The Moors were all ſubject to Bocchus, who knew nothing of the Romans but the name; nor was he known to them before, either in war or peace. I have now ſaid enough of Africa and its inhabitants for my purpoſe.

After Numidia was divided by the Roman commiſſioners, and they returned home; when Jugurtha, contrary to his fears, ſaw himſelf rewarded for his crimes, he was fully perſuaded of the truth of what he had heard from his friends at Numantia, that all things were to be bought at Rome; and being encouraged too by the promiſes of thoſe, whom he had loaded with preſents, he reſolved to ſeize Atherbal's kingdom. He was himſelf, indeed, of a daring diſpoſition, and an excellent ſoldier; but he, whoſe deſtruction he aimed at, was quiet, ſpiritleſs, of a meek temper, obnoxious to inſults, and more apt to be terrified, than to inſpire terror. Accordingly, on a ſudden, he invades his territories with a powerful body, takes many priſoners, cattle, and other booty, ſets fire to his cities; and flying about with his cavalry from place to place, ravaged his country. He then returned into his own kingdom with all his forces, thinking that Atherbal would have recourſe to arms for redreſs,

and

and thus furniſh him with a pretext for war. But he, not looking upon himſelf as a match for Jugurtha at arms, and relying more upon the Roman friendſhip, than his own ſubjects, ſent ambaſſadors to complain to Jugurtha of ſuch outrages; and though they returned with an inſulting anſwer, yet he determined to ſuffer any thing, rather than enter into a war, in which he had ſucceeded ſo badly before. This did not, however, allay the inſatiable ambition of Jugurtha, who had already, in his mind, taken poſſeſſion of Atherbal's kingdom. Therefore he began now to make war, not as before, at the head of a band of plunderers, but with a great army, and openly aimed at the ſovereignty of all Numidia; wherever he marched, he took cities, laid waſte the country, committed univerſal depredation, and did every thing to inſpire his men with courage, and ſtrike terror into the enemy.

Atherbal, finding that he muſt either quit his kingdom, or defend it by arms, ſubmitted to neceſſity, and raiſing forces, marched againſt Jugurtha: ſo that both armies encamped near the city Cirta, not far from the ſea; but, as the evening approached, they did not engage. When night was almoſt paſt, and day began to dawn, Jugurtha's men, upon a ſignal given, broke into the enemy's camp, and falling upon them, whilſt ſome were ſcarce awake, and others juſt taking their arms, put them to flight. Atherbal, with a few horſe, made his eſcape to Cirta; and was ſo cloſely purſued, that if the Italians, in great numbers, had not repulſed the Numidians from the walls, the war between the two kings had been begun and ended in the ſame day. Jugurtha, upon this, laid cloſe ſiege to the town, and, by towers, moving galleries, and engines of all ſorts, ſtrove to take it; being

being deſirous to be maſter of it, before the ambaſſadors, who he heard were ſent to Rome before the battle, ſhould arrive there. But, as ſoon as the ſenate had notice of the war, they diſpatched three ambaſſadors, all young men, with orders to go to each of the kings, and acquaint them, that it was the pleaſure and appointment of the ſenate and people of Rome, they ſhould quit their arms, and decide their differences by law rather than the ſword; that thus they would act as the dignity of Rome, and their own intereſts, required.

The ambaſſadors arrived quickly in Africa, making the greater diſpatch, becauſe, whilſt they were preparing to depart, a report both of the engagement and ſiege of Cirta reached Rome; but this report was but little credited. Jugurtha, upon hearing their commiſſion, replied, 'that nothing 'was more ſacred, nothing dearer to him, than the 'authority of the ſenate; that from his youth he 'had endeavoured to merit the approbation of every 'perſon of eminent worth; that he had gained the 'friendſhip of Scipio, that excellent man, by his 'virtuous conduct, not by infamous arts: that 'Micipſa had, in conſideration of his good qualities, and not for want of children, adopted him 'joint-heir with his own ſons to the kingdom. But 'the braver and more deſerving his conduct had 'been, the leſs could his ſpirit bear with inſults. 'That Atherbal had laid ſnares for his life, which 'when he diſcovered, he endeavoured to defeat: 'that the Roman people would neither act a juſt 'nor a wiſe part, if they denied him the common 'right of nations: finally, that he would quickly 'ſend deputies to Rome, to ſatisfy them concerning 'all his proceedings.'

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With this anſwer the ambaſſadors departed, without being allowed acceſs to Atherbal. Jugurtha, when he thought they had left Africa, perceiving it impoſſible to take Cirta by aſſault, on account of its natural ſtrength, begirt it with a trench and rampart, raiſed towers, and filled them with armed men. He likewiſe tried day and night all poſſible methods both of force and ſtratagem; one while tempting the beſieged with promiſes, another endeavouring to terrify them by his threats; conſtantly animating his men, and puſhing every neceſſary meaſure with the utmoſt diligence. Atherbal, finding his affairs in extreme danger, his enemy determined on his ruin, no hopes of ſuccour, and that the war could not be continued long for want of proviſions, choſe two of the moſt active and reſolute of thoſe, who fled with him to Cirta, and prevailed upon them, by great promiſes, and an affecting repreſentation of his diſtreſs, to venture in the night time, through the enemy's lines, to the next ſhore, and from thence to Rome. The Numidians in a few days executed their orders. Atherbal's letter was read in the ſenate; and was to this effect.

'It is not my fault, conſcript fathers, that I 'make ſuch frequent application to you, it is the 'violence of Jugurtha that forces me to it, who is 'ſo reſolutely determined upon my deſtruction, that 'he purſues it without regarding your reſentment, 'or that of the immortal gods themſelves. He 'prefers my blood to every other conſideration; 'in ſo much that I, though a friend and ally of 'the Roman people, have been beſieged by him al-'moſt five months; nor does the generoſity of my 'father Micipſa to him, nor the authority of your 'decrees, avail any thing towards my relief. Whe-

'ther

'ther famine or the ſword preſſes hardeſt upon me, 'I am unable to ſay. My wretched ſituation diſ-'courages me from writing at greater length con-'cerning Jugurtha; having learned by experience, 'how little credit is given to the miſerable: this 'however I will venture to add, that I am ſenſible 'he aims at ſomething beyond my ruin, and that 'he can never expect to enjoy my kingdom, and 'your friendſhip; which of theſe he prefers to the 'other, can be a ſecret to none. For firſt he mur-'dered my brother Hiempſal, then drove me from 'my father's kingdom. Let theſe, however, be 'conſidered as injuries done to our family, and no 'ways affecting you; yet now he keeps by force a 'kingdom that is yours, and beſieges me, who was 'appointed by you king of the Numidians. How 'much he regarded the orders you ſent him by 'your deputies, my dangers abundantly ſhew. What 'remains then, but that you have recourſe to force, 'which alone can move him? As for me, I could 'wiſh, that what I write at preſent, and what I 'formerly complained of before the ſenate, was al-'together groundleſs, rather than it ſhould be ve-'rified by my ſufferings. But ſince I was born to 'be a ſpectacle of Jugurtha's cruelty, I do not beg 'to be reſcued from death or diſtreſs, but only from 'falling into his hands, and from the tortures that 'are prepared for me. Diſpoſe of the kingdom of 'Numidia, which is your own, as you judge moſt 'proper; but I conjure you by the majeſty of the 'Roman empire, and by the faith of friendſhip and 'alliance, deliver me from the impious hands of 'Jugurtha, if you have any regard for the memory 'of my grandfather Maſiniſſa.'

Upon reading this letter, there were ſome ſena-tors who propoſed, that an army ſhould be ſent into Africa, and ſuccours diſpatched to Atherbal with

with all expedition; and that Jugurtha's diſobedience to their orders ſhould be forthwith taken into conſideration. But the king's advocates ſtrenuouſly oppoſed ſuch meaſures; and thus the publick good, as is generally the caſe, was ſacrificed to private intereſt. Ambaſſadors were choſen, however, to be ſent into Africa, men of age and dignity, who had borne the higheſt offices of the ſtate; amongſt whom was M. Scaurus, whom we have already mentioned, a man of conſular dignity, and at that time prince of the ſenate. Theſe, obſerving that the publick odium was great againſt Jugurtha, and being preſſed by the Numidians to make all poſſible haſte, embarked in three days, and arriving ſoon at Utica, wrote to Jugurtha, 'to come directly into the Roman province; for that they had orders to him 'from the ſenate.'

When he found that men of ſuch eminence and authority at Rome were come to oppoſe his deſigns, he was diſtracted between fear and ambition. On the one hand, he dreaded the reſentment of the ſenate, if he did not obey their deputies; on the other, his eager paſſion for power hurried him on to the execution of his wicked undertaking. At laſt ambition prevailed; and ſurrounding Cirta with all his army, he made a general aſſault, labouring with all his might to break into it; as he hoped, by dividing the enemy's forces, to have a chance for victory, either by force or artifice. But this attempt miſcarrying, and finding that his great aim of getting Atherbal into his poſſeſſion, before he met the deputies, could not be effected, he came with a few horſe into the Roman province, that he might not, by longer delay, incenſe Scaurus, of whom he ſtood in great awe. Upon his arrival, though the deputies, in the name of the ſenate, denounced grievous threatnings againſt him, for continuing

tinuing the ſiege; yet, after a long debate, they departed without ſucceſs.

When an account of this was brought to Cirta, the Italians, by whoſe bravery the town was defended, perſuading themſelves that their perſons would not be violated after a ſurrender, in conſideration of the Roman power, adviſed Atherbal to deliver himſelf and the town to Jugurtha, without inſiſting on any conditions, but that of having his own life; as the ſenate would take care of every thing elſe. Atherbal, though he was very ſenſible that nothing was leſs to be depended upon than Jugurtha's word, yet conſidering, that it was in the power of thoſe who adviſed him to force him to a compliance, in caſe of refuſal, yielded to the propoſal of the Italians and ſurrendered. Upon which Jugurtha put Atherbal to death immediately upon the rack; and then ſlaughtered all the Numidian youth and foreign merchants without diſtinction.

When this was known at Rome, and began to be debated in the ſenate, the king's former advocates, by their intrigues, by their intereſt with particular ſenators, and often by protracting the time in long ſpeeches, endeavoured to qualify the horror of his crimes; and had not C. Memmius, tribune of the people elect, a man of ſpirit, and a declared enemy to the power of the nobility, informed the Roman people, that the deſign of all this was, to procure impunity to Jugurtha for his crimes, by means of a faction, the publick indignation againſt him would undoubtedly have vaniſhed by their ſtudied delays; ſo powerfully did favour and the king's money operate. But the ſenate, through a conſciouſneſs of the injuſtice of their proceeding, began to dread the reſentment of the people, and complying with the Sempronian law, decreed Numidia-

midia and Italy the provinces of the next conſuls, who were declared to be P. Scipio Naſica, and L. Beſtia Calpurnius. To the former of theſe Italy fell, and to the latter Numidia. Then an army was raiſed to be ſent into Africa, and a decree was made for the payment of it, and for every thing neceſſary to carry on the war.

When Jugurtha heard this news, ſo contrary to his hopes, as he had a ſtrong perſuaſion that every thing was to be had at Rome for money, he ſent his ſon, and two of his intimate friends on an embaſſy to the ſenate, and ordered them, as he had formerly done thoſe he ſent after having murdered Hiempſal, to bribe all ſorts of men. Upon their approach to Rome, Beſtia conſulted the ſenate, 'whether the deputies of Jugurtha ſhould be admitted within the walls:' and it was decreed, 'that unleſs they came to ſurrender Jugurtha and 'his kingdom, they muſt depart out of Italy 'within ten days.' This the conſul, by the ſenate's orders, ſignified to the Numidians; and thus they returned without doing any thing.

Calpurnius, in the mean time, having raiſed an army, choſe for his lieutenant-generals perſons of quality and intrigue, whoſe authority he hoped would ſupport him in whatever he might do amiſs; amongſt whom was Scaurus, of whoſe temper and character we have already given an account. The conſul himſelf had indeed many excellent endowments both of body and mind, but avarice rendered them all uſeleſs: he was hardy, of great penetration and foreſight, well ſkilled in war, and not to be moved by dangers or ſurprize. The legions marched through Italy to Rhegium, where they embarked for Sicily, and from thence were tranſported to Africa; ſo that Calpurnius, who had early

early provided himſelf with all neceſſaries, entered Numidia with great vigour, took a great number of priſoners, and ſeveral cities by ſtorm. But when Jugurtha began, by his deputies, to tempt him with money, and to lay before him the difficulties of the war in which he was engaged, his ſoul, ſick with avarice, was eaſily ſoftened. He took Scaurus, however, as his partner and adviſer in all his ſchemes; who, though he had, at firſt, vigorouſly oppoſed the king, even when moſt of his party were already corrupted, was nevertheleſs prevailed upon, by a vaſt ſum of money, to deſert the cauſe of honour and equity, for that of oppreſſion and injuſtice.

Jugurtha, at firſt, only purchaſed a ſuſpenſion of the war, flattering himſelf, that, in the mean time, he ſhould ſucceed at Rome, either by favour or money; but hearing that Scaurus was engaged in his intereſt, he conceived high hopes of obtaining peace, and determined to treat with him in perſon concerning the terms of it. In the mean time, to remove any apprehenſions of danger from his coming, the conſul ſent Sextius the Quæſtor to Vacca, where Jugurtha was; but under pretence of receiving corn, which Calpurnius had publickly ordered the deputies to provide, ſince a truce was granted, till a ſurrender ſhould be made. Jugurtha, at laſt, came into the camp, as he had determined; and after a ſhort ſpeech to the council of officers, to leſſen the odium of his crimes, he propoſed to deliver himſelf up. The terms he afterwards ſettled privately with Beſtia and Scaurus; and was, the day after, admitted to a ſurrender, as if the matter had been concluded in due form by majority of voices. Accordingly thirty elephants, ſome cattle, with a great number of horſes, and a ſmall ſum of money, were, agreeably to the order of the council, delivered to the quæſtor.

Calpurnius goes to Rome, to aſſiſt at the election of magiſtrates: all being quiet in Numidia, and in our army there.

When the tranſactions in Africa, and the manner of proceeding there, came to be known at Rome, the behaviour of the conſul was the ſubject of converſation in all companies; the people were filled with indignation, and the ſenate with perplexity; not knowing whether they ſhould ratify ſo diſhonourable a treaty, or make void the ordinance of the conſul. The authority of Scaurus, who was ſaid to be the adviſer and aſſociate of Beſtia, was what principally diverted them from acting a juſt and honourable part. While the ſenate was thus in ſuſpence, C. Memmius, whoſe freedom of ſpirit, and ſworn enmity to the power of the nobility, we have already mentioned, ſtirred up the people in their aſſemblies, to revenge their own wrongs; warned them, not to deſert the intereſts of the publick and their own liberty; laid before them many inſtances of the haughty and tyrannical behaviour of the nobility, and uſed every poſſible method to inflame the minds of the populace againſt them.

Now, as the eloquence of Memmius was, at that time, in great reputation, and of great influence at Rome, I have thought proper to tranſcribe one of his ſpeeches, out of many; and, above all others, that which he made to an aſſembly of the people, after the return of Beſtia, in the following ſtrain.

'If my zeal for the publick good did not bear 'down every other conſideration, Romans, there are 'many motives to diſſuade me from adhering to 'your intereſts; motives great and powerful! the 'ſtrength of the oppoſite party; your tameneſs of 'ſpirit;

'ſpirit; the univerſal prevalence of injuſtice; and 'above all, innocence rather expoſed to danger, 'than crowned with honour. For it really gives 'me pain to relate, with what inſolent ſcorn you 'have been treated, by a few great men, for theſe 'fifteen years! how baſely your great champions 'have been ſuffered to periſh unrevenged! how your 'former ſpirit is ſunk through indolence and effe-'minacy, who, even now, when your enemies are 'at your mercy, do not ſtir againſt them; and are, 'even now, afraid of thoſe, to whom you ſhould 'be a terror! But notwithſtanding all this, my 'ſpirit obliges me to oppoſe the power of the fac-'tion; nor will I fail to uſe that liberty which is 'tranſmitted to me by my father: but whether with, 'or without ſucceſs, depends entirely upon you, O 'Romans. Not that I adviſe you to redreſs your 'wrongs by arms, as your anceſtors have often 'done; no, there is no need of violence, none of 'leaving the city; ſince they muſt certainly ruin 'themſelves by their own proceedings. After the 'murder of Tiberius Gracchus, who was charged 'by them with having aimed at the ſovereignty, 'the ſevereſt cruelties were exerciſed towards the 'Roman people. After C. Gracchus and M. Ful-'vius were put to death, many of your body pe-'riſhed in priſon; nor was it law, but their own 'good pleaſure, that put an end to both theſe maſ-'ſacres. But, let reſtoring the people their rights 'paſs for aiming at the ſovereignty; let it be dee-'med lawful to remedy what could not otherwiſe be 'remedied than by ſhedding the blood of Roman 'citizens! you have, for ſeveral years, with ſecret 'indignation, beheld the treaſury robbed; beheld 'kings and free nations pay tribute to a few of the 'nobles; and thoſe few adorned with publick ho-'nours, and poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth. Nay, 'looking upon the commiſſion of ſuch enormities

'with impunity as but a ſmall matter; they have 'at laſt betrayed your laws, your majeſty, every thing 'divine and human, into the hands of your ene-'mies. Nor for all this are they touched with re-'morſe or ſhame; no, they appear in public with 'great pomp, diſplaying their ſacerdotal dignities, 'their conſulſhips, their triumphs, as if theſe dig-'nities, poſſeſſed by them, were really honourable, 'and not marks of their uſurpation. Slaves bought 'with money do not ſubmit to the unjuſt commands 'of their maſters, and can you, Romans, who 'are born to command, tamely ſubmit to ſla-'very?

'But who are they who have ſeized upon the 'commonwealth? the moſt profligate of all men; 'their hands dyed with the blood of their fellow-'citizens; men of boundleſs avarice, of enormous 'guilt, and matchleſs pride; men who turn honour, 'faith, publick ſpirit, and, in ſhort, whatever is 'juſt or unjuſt, into gain. Some of them owe 'their ſecurity to their having murdered your tri-'bunes, others to lawleſs proſecutions, and moſt of 'them to their having ſhed your blood: ſo that 'they who have done you the greateſt wrong are in 'the greateſt ſafety; and inſtead of being afraid of 'puniſhment at your hands for their numerous 'crimes, from your cowardice they make you afraid 'of them. As their deſires, their averſions, their 'fears are the ſame, they are cloſely united toge-'ther; now ſuch a conformity of inclinations 'among good men is friendſhip, but faction, when 'found among the wicked.

'But were you as much concerned for the preſer-'vation of your liberty, as they are for eſtabliſhing 'their tyranny, the commonwealth would not be 'torn in pieces as it now is, and your favours, in-

ſtead

'ſtead of being conferred on the moſt audacious, 'would be beſtowed on the moſt deſerving. Your 'anceſtors twice withdrew from the city, to mount 'Aventine, in arms, in order to aſſert their rights, 'and eſtabliſh their dignity: and will not you la- 'bour with all your might to maintain the liberty 'they have tranſmitted to you? nay, will not you la- 'bour with the greater zeal, as it is more diſhonour- 'able to loſe what has been acquired, than not to 'have acquired it at all?

'Here ſome will aſk me, what then would 'you have done? I anſwer, I would have thoſe pu- 'niſhed, who have betrayed the commonwealth to 'an enemy; not by force or violence, a method 'of puniſhment, which, tho' they deſerve, yet does 'not become your dignity to inflict; but by a legal 'proſecution, and the evidence of Jugurtha him- 'ſelf: who, if he has really ſurrendered himſelf, 'will obey your commands; but if he deſpiſes them, 'you may then judge what kind of peace or ſur- 'render it is, from whence Jugurtha derives im- 'punity for his crimes, a few great men immenſe 'wealth, and the ſtate nothing but loſs and infamy. 'But perhaps you are not as yet ſatiated with the 'tyranny of theſe men, and are beſt pleaſed with 'thoſe times, when kingdoms, provinces, law, the 'adminiſtration of juſtice, war and peace, in a 'word, every thing divine and human, were at the 'diſpoſal of a few; while you, the Roman people, 'always invincible, and lords of the world, were 'humbly content to be allowed to live. For was 'there a man of you, who had ſpirit to refuſe the 'yoke? As for me, though I look upon it as very 'diſhonourable to a man, tamely to bear ill uſage; 'yet I ſhould patiently ſee you pardon the moſt 'guilty criminals, becauſe they are your fellow citi-

'zens, were it not, that your compaſſion would 'prove your own certain ruin.

'Such, indeed, is the miſchievous ſpirit of theſe 'men, that to pardon their paſt crimes will ſignify 'little to you, if you do not deprive them of power 'to repeat them; and nothing will remain to you 'but continual anxiety, when you find that you 'muſt either be ſlaves, or preſerve your liberty by 'force. For what hope is there of mutual faith 'and concord between them and you? they deſire 'to be lords, you to be free: they to oppreſs you, 'you to defend yourſelves: in a word, they uſe 'your allies like enemies, your enemies like allies. 'Can peace or friendſhip poſſibly ſubſiſt between per-'ſons of ſuch oppoſite diſpoſitions?

'Wherefore I adviſe and exhort you, not to ſuffer 'ſuch enormous villainy to go unpuniſhed. It is 'not the robbing of the treaſury, nor extorting 'money from your allies, that now come under 'your conſideration; crimes, which however hei-'nous, yet are become ſo common, that they paſs 'for nothing. It is the authority of the ſenate, it 'is your own mighty power that is betrayed to a 'very terrible enemy, and the commonwealth ex-'poſed to ſale both at home and abroad. Which 'crimes unleſs you proſecute, and take vengeance 'upon the guilty, what remains but to live the 'ſlaves of thoſe who committed them? for to do 'with impunity what one pleaſes, is being a 'king.

'I do not hereby mean, O Romans, to encourage 'you to wiſh, that theſe your fellow-citizens may be 'found to have acted baſely rather than honour-'ably; but only warn you, not to ruin the good 'and deſerving, by pardoning the wicked. Be-

'ſides,

'ſides, it is much wiſer in any government to for-
'get ſervices rather than wrongs: for a good man
'by being neglected, becomes only more indolent;
'whereas a bad man grows ſtill worſe. Let me
'add, if injuries are prevented, you will ſeldom
'ſtand in need of aſſiſtance.'

By this and the like ſpeeches, C. Memmius perſuaded the Roman people to ſend L. Caſſius, who was then prætor, to Jugurtha, and bring him to Rome upon the publick faith; that, by his evidence, Scaurus, and the reſt, who were charged with betraying their truſt for money, might be clearly convicted. Whilſt theſe meaſures were purſuing at Rome, the officers, whom Beſtia had left with the command of the army at Numidia, in imitation of their general's conduct, committed many and infamous crimes. Some, for a ſum of money, reſtored Jugurtha his elephants; others ſold him his deſerters; and ſome plundered the provinces at peace with the Romans; ſuch was the violence of avarice, which, like a plague, had taken poſſeſſion of their minds.

The prætor Caſſius, in conſequence of this ordinance of the people, procured by Memmius, to the great ſurprize of the nobility, went to Jugurtha, and perſuaded him, though ſore afraid, and, from a conſciouſneſs of his guilt, diffident of his cauſe, 'that, ſince he had already delivered himſelf up to 'the Roman people, he ſhould try their mercy rather 'than their power.' He likewiſe engaged to him his own faith, which Jugurtha reckoned as ſtrong a ſecurity as that of the public. Such at that time was the reputation of Caſſius.

Jugurtha, accordingly came to Rome with Caſſius; yet without any regal pomp, and dreſſed in

ſuch a manner as to excite pity. But though he was himſelf of an intrepid ſpirit, and was moreover encouraged by aſſurances from thoſe, in reliance upon whoſe power and villainy he had committed the abovementioned crimes; yet, by a vaſt ſum of money he ſecured the aſſiſtance of C. Bæbius, tribune of the people, one who had impudence enough to protect him againſt all law, and all manner of injuries.

When an aſſembly of the people was called by Memmius, though they were ſo highly exaſperated againſt Jugurtha, that ſome of them were for putting him in irons, others, for putting him to death, like a publick enemy, according to the ancient uſage, unleſs he diſcovered his aſſociates; yet Memmius, more concerned for their dignity, than the gratification of their fury, endeavoured to calm the tumult, and ſoften their minds, and declared that he would take care that the publick faith ſhould not be violated. At laſt, having obtained ſilence, and ordered Jugurtha to be brought before the aſſembly, he proceeded in his ſpeech, recounted all his wicked actions, both in Rome and Numidia; laid open his unnatural behaviour to his father and brothers; adding, that the Roman people, though they were not ignorant by whom he had been aided and ſupported, ſtill deſired full information of the whole from himſelf. If he declared the truth, he had much to hope from the faith and clemency of the Roman people: but if he concealed it, he would not ſave his friends by ſo doing, but ruin himſelf and his hopes forever.

When Memmius had made an end of ſpeaking, and Jugurtha was ordered to reply, the tribune Bæbius, who had been ſecured by a ſum of money, as we have already mentioned, deſired him to be ſilent;

lent: and though the people there aſſembled were highly incenſed, and endeavoured to frighten him with their cries, with angry looks, nay and often with violence, and every other method which indignation inſpires, yet his impudence triumphed over it all. The people departed, after being thus mocked: Jugurtha, Beſtia, and the reſt, who were at firſt terribly afraid of this proſecution, aſſumed greater courage.

There was at this juncture, a certain Numidian at Rome, called Maſſiva, the ſon of Guluſſa, and grandſon of Maſiniſſa, who, having taken part againſt Jugurtha, in the war between the three kings, had fled out of Africa, upon the ſurrender of Cirta, and the murder of Atherbal. Sp. Albinus, who with Q. Minucius Rufus ſucceeded Beſtia in the conſulſhip, perſuaded this man to apply to the ſenate for the kingdom of Numidia; as he was deſcended from Maſiniſſa, and Jugurtha the object of publick abhorrence, on account of his crimes, and alarmed with daily fears of the puniſhment he deſerved. The conſul, who was very fond of having the management of the war, was more deſirous that the publick diſturbances ſhould be continued than compoſed. The province of Numidia had fallen to him, and Macedonia to his collegue. When Maſſiva began to proſecute his claim, Jugurtha, finding that he could not rely upon the aſſiſtance of his friends, ſome of whom were ſeized with remorſe, others reſtrained by the bad opinion the public had of them, and by their fears, ordered Bomilcar, who was his faithful friend and confident, 'to engage perſons to murder Maſſiva 'for money, by which he had accompliſhed many 'things; and to do it by private means, if poſſible, 'but if theſe were ineffectual, by any means whatever.'

Bo-

Bomilcar quickly executed the king's orders, and by employing proper inſtruments, diſcovered his places of reſort, his ſet times, and all his motions; and, when matters were ripe, laid a ſcheme for the aſſaſſination. One of thoſe, who were to put the murder in execution, attacked Maſſiva and ſlew him, but ſo imprudently, that he was himſelf apprehended, and being urged by many, eſpecially by the conſul Albinus, confeſſed all. Bomilcar was arraigned, more agreeably to reaſon and juſtice, than to the law of nations; for he accompanied Jugurtha, who came to Rome upon the public faith. Jugurtha, though clearly guilty of ſo foul a crime, did not however give over endeavouring to bear down the force of truth, till he perceived that the horror of his guilt was ſuch, as to baffle all the power of favour or money. Upon which, though he had upon the proſecution of Bomilcar, given fifty of his friends as ſureties for his ſtanding his trial, he ſent him privately to Numidia; being more concerned for his kingdom than his friends: for he was afraid, were this favourite to be puniſhed, leſt the reſt of his ſubjects ſhould be diſcouraged from obeying him. In a few days he himſelf followed, being ordered by the ſenate to depart out of Italy. When he left Rome, it is reported, that having frequently looked back to it without ſaying any thing, he at laſt broke out into theſe words, 'a venal city, and ripe for deſtruction, 'when a purchaſer can be found.'

The war being now revived, Albinus made haſte to tranſport into Africa, money, proviſions, and every thing neceſſary for the uſe of the army; and ſoon after followed himſelf, that he might put an end to the war, either by defeating the enemy, by obliging Jugurtha to ſurrender, or by any other means,

means, before the time for election of magiſtrates, which was near at hand. Jugurtha, on the contrary, endeavoured to protract time, and was continually finding freſh pretences for delay; one while he promiſed to ſurrender; another he feigned diſtruſt; when the enemy preſſed him, he gave way; and ſoon after leſt his men ſhould be diſcouraged, he attacked them in his turn. Thus did he baffle the conſul by an alternate courſe of hoſtilities and propoſals of peace. Some there were at that time who imagined that Albinus was not ignorant of the king's deſigns, and who could not believe, that the protracting of the war after ſuch vigorous preparations, was ſo much owing to inactivity as to fraud.

The time being elapſed, and the elections at hand, Albinus went to Rome, leaving his brother Aulus to command in the camp as prætor. The commonwealth was at this time terribly agitated by the contentions of the tribunes of the people. Two of theſe, P. Lucullus and L. Annius, endeavoured to continue in their office, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of all their collegues; which conteſt kept off the election for a whole year. Upon this delay Aulus, who was left pro prætor in the camp, as we have already related, conceiving hopes of either terminating the war, or, by the terror of his army, obliging the king to give him a ſum of money, drew his men out of their winter-quarters in the month of January, and by long marches, under the rigours of the ſeaſon, reached Suthul, where the king's treaſure lay. The ſharpneſs of the weather, and the ſituation of this place rendered it impoſſible to take, or even to beſiege it; for, beſides its being built upon a ſteep rock, and ſtrongly walled, the plains that ſurrounded it were turned into a perfect marſh by the winter rains. Notwithſtanding all this, Aulus, either as a feint to frighten

frighten the king, or blinded by avarice, to make himſelf maſter of the town on account of the treaſure, framed moving galleries, threw up trenches, and made all neceſſary preparations for a ſiege.

Jugurtha, perceiving the proprætor's ignorance and vanity, made uſe of ſeveral arts to encreaſe his madneſs and preſumption; frequently ſent deputies to him with humble meſſages, whilſt he himſelf, affecting fear, led his army thro' foreſts and narrow paſſes. At laſt, Aulus, in hopes that the king would ſurrender upon conditions, was tempted to quit Suthul and purſue him. Jugurtha, appearing to fly before him, by this means drew him into countries utterly unknown to him, the better to execute his own deſigns. In the mean time he employed cunning inſtruments day and night to debauch our army: bribing the centurions and officers of horſe, ſome to deſert to him, and others, upon a ſignal given, to quit their poſts. Having thus far purſued his ſchemes ſucceſsfully, on a ſudden, in the dead of night, he ſurrounded Aulus's camp with a great body of Numidians. The Roman ſoldiers, being ſtruck with this alarm, ſome took their arms; ſome hid themſelves, and others encouraged thoſe that were afraid. There was every where the greateſt conſternation: the number of the enemy was great, the night was dark and cloudy, and danger on every ſide; in a word, it was impoſſible to determine, whether it was ſafeſt to maintain their ground or fly. Mean while, a cohort of Ligurians, two troops of Thracian horſe, with a few common men, deſerted to Jugurtha, by whom they had been corrupted, as we have already related; and a centurion of the firſt rank, belonging to the third legion, opened a paſſage to the enemy into the camp, at which all the Numidians poured in, by delivering up a ſtrong poſt, the defence of which was aſſigned him.

him. Our men ſhamefully fled, and moſt of them throwing away their arms, took poſſeſſion of a neighbouring hill.

Night, and the plunder of the camp, hindered the enemy from improving the victory. Next day, Jugurtha, at a conference with Aulus, told him, 'that, though both he and his troops were at his 'mercy, being hemmed in on all ſides with ſword 'and famine, yet, mindful of the inconſtancy of 'human affairs, if he would conclude a treaty with 'him, he would diſmiſs them all unhurt; only mak-'ing them paſs under the yoke, and obliging 'them to quit Numidia in ten days.' The conditions, though very rigorous, and extremely diſhonourable, were yet ſubmitted to, as they were thereby all delivered from the fear of death; and a peace was concluded upon the king's terms.

When this was known at Rome, fear and ſorrow ſeized all the city. Some were deeply concerned for the glory of the empire; others, unacquainted with war, trembled for their liberty; all were filled with indignation againſt Aulus, thoſe eſpecially who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves often by their bravery in war, that with arms in his hands, he ſhould conſult his ſafety rather by ſubmitting ſhamefully than defending himſelf gallantly. The conſul Albinus, dreading the publick odium, and thereby great danger, on account of his brother's infamous conduct, conſulted the ſenate upon the treaty; yet, in the mean time, raiſed recruits for the army, ſent for auxiliaries from the Latins and allies, and made all neceſſary preparations with the utmoſt diligence. The ſenate, as was fit they ſhould, decreed, 'that 'without their authority and that of the people, no 'treaty could be concluded.' The conſul, not being allowed by the tribunes of the people to tranſport into

into Africa what forces he had raiſed, went thither himſelf in a few days without them: for the whole army, according to agreement, had quitted Numidia, and wintered in our province. Upon his arrival, though he had an eager deſire to march againſt Jugurtha, and thereby leſſen the publick odium, under which his brother had fallen, yet when he found that the courage of the ſoldiers was ſunk by their late flight, and not only ſo, but that they were without diſcipline, extremely licentious and debauched, he reſolved, after mature deliberation, to attempt nothing.

At Rome, in the mean time, C. Mamilius Limetanus one of the tribunes, propoſed to the people to paſs an ordinance, 'for arraigning thoſe by whoſe 'encouragement Jugurtha had diſobeyed the decrees 'of the ſenate; thoſe who had received money 'from him, when ſent as deputies to him, or truſted with the management of the war againſt him; 'thoſe who had reſtored him his elephants and deſerters; and likewiſe thoſe who had taken upon 'them to enter into any engagements with the enemy relating to peace or war.' Such as were aimed at by this ordinance, not daring openly to oppoſe it, ſome through their conſciouſneſs of deſerving it, others through fear of falling a ſacrifice to the heat of party, profeſſed to be pleaſed with it and the like proceedings; yet ſecretly endeavoured to prevent its paſſing, by means of their friends, eſpecially the Latins, and the other Italian allies. But it is almoſt incredible how zealous the people were upon this occaſion, and with what eagerneſs they voted, authorized, and paſſed the ordinance; more indeed out of hatred to the nobility, againſt whom it was levelled, than out of any regard to the welfare of the ſtate: ſo violent was the fury of party.

Whilſt

Whilſt the reſt were ſeized by fear, M. Scaurus, who had been lieutenant-general to Beſtia, as above related, during the rejoicings of the people, the flight of thoſe of his party, and the diſtraction of the city, got himſelf named one of the three commiſſioners, who were appointed by the ordinance of Mamilius to put it in execution. The proſecution followed, and was managed with great ſeverity and violence, to gratify the mad humour and clamour of the people, who upon this occaſion uſed their ſuperiority with great inſolence, as the nobility had often done.

The diſtinction of the people and ſenate into oppoſite parties, with all the miſchievous practices conſequent upon it, took its riſe at Rome a few years before, and ſprung from profound quiet, and the abundance of thoſe things which men ſet the higheſt value upon. For, before the deſtruction of Carthage, the people and ſenate jointly governed the ſtate with great moderation and harmony; the citizens had no conteſts with one another, on account of power and influence; fear of their enemies kept the ſtate in good order: But when this fear was removed, pride and debauchery, the uſual attendants of proſperity, poured in upon them. So that peace, which they ſo ardently wiſhed for in the time of war and danger, when they obtained it, proved more fatal to them than either; for the nobility began to convert their dignity into tyranny, the people their liberty into licentiouſneſs, and all, indeed, centering their views in themſelves only, laboured to get as much power and property as they poſſibly could. Thus whilſt each party ſtrove to have all power in its hands, the commonwealth, which lay between both, was miſerably rent. The faction of the nobility, however, prevailed; for the authority

thority of the people, being looſe, and divided among a multitude, had leſs force; ſo that all affairs both at home and abroad, were managed by a few. They diſpoſed of the treaſury, provinces, magiſtracies, publick dignities and triumphs. The populace were oppreſſed by poverty and military ſervice, while the generals, with a few great ones, engroſſed all the ſpoils of victory: and even the parents and children of the ſoldiers were driven from their eſtates, if they happened to border upon any of the grandees. Thus did avarice, in conjunction with power, without moderation or reſtraint, invade, pollute, and lay waſte every thing, diſregarding what was juſt or ſacred, till it ruſhed headlong to its own ruin. For as ſoon as there aroſe any from among the nobility, who preferred real glory to unjuſt power, the ſtate was in an uproar, and ſuch civil broils enſued, as if the univerſe had been diſſolving.

For after Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, whoſe anceſtors had done ſignal ſervice to the ſtate, both in the Carthaginian and other wars, began to attempt the recovery of the people's rights, and to lay open the wickedneſs of a few great men; the nobility, being conſcious of their guilt, and under terrible apprehenſions, endeavoured to defeat their deſigns, ſometimes by means of our Italian allies, and the Latin ſtate; and ſometimes by means of the Roman knights, whom the hopes of being admitted to a partnerſhip in power with the nobility, had drawn off from the intereſts of the people. Firſt they murdered Tiberius, whilſt tribune of the people; and in a few years after Caius, who was purſuing his brother's meaſures, together with M. Fulvius Flaccus, both inveſted with the triumviral authority of planting colonies. And indeed the Gracchi, through an eager deſire of carrying their point, did not act with

with moderation; for it is better to yield, than to conquer oppoſition by unlawful means.

The nobility uſing the advantage they had gained according to their own wanton humour, put many citizens to death, baniſhed others, and rendered themſelves more terrible for the future, rather than more powerful; a method of proceeding which has ruined many flouriſhing ſtates; whilſt parties have endeavoured to conquer each other, and to treat the conquered with the utmoſt cruelty. But were I to enter into a minute detail of the views and animoſities of our parties, with the conduct of our citizens, and treat ſo copious a ſubject in its full extent, time would fail me ſooner than matter. I return then to my deſign.

After the treaty of Aulus, and the ſhameful flight of our army, Metellus and Silanus, conſuls elect, ſhared the provinces between them, and Numidia fell to Metellus, a man of ſpirit, untainted reputation, and equally eſteemed by both parties, tho' he oppoſed that of the people. As ſoon as he entered upon his office, conſidering that his collegue had an equal ſhare of all the other duties of the conſulſhip, he employed his thoughts wholly upon the war which he was to conduct. Accordingly, having little dependance upon the old army, he made new levies; ſent for auxiliaries from all parts; provided arms, horſes, and all other warlike implements, with great plenty of proviſions, and, in a word, every thing neceſſary in a war, which required various management and many things to conduct it properly. In making theſe preparations, he was vigorouſly aſſiſted by the ſenate, our allies, and thoſe of the Latin ſtate; foreign princes too of their own accord ſent him auxiliaries; And, in ſhort, the whole city ſupported him with the greateſt zeal. When all things were furniſhed

and regulated according to his wiſhes, he paſſed over into Numidia, leaving his fellow-citizens full of great hopes; not only on account of his many excellent qualities, but chiefly becauſe he had a ſoul never to be ſubdued by money. For it was the avarice of our commanders, that till this time had ruined our affairs in Numidia, and rendered the enemy ſucceſsful.

Upon his arrival in Africa, the army of the proconſul Spurius Albinus was delivered to him; but an army ſpiritleſs and unwarlike; incapable of ſuſtaining danger or fatigue; readier to talk than to act; without any order or diſcipline; and accuſtomed to plunder our allies, whilſt itſelf was the ſpoil of the enemy: So that the depravity of the ſoldiers occaſioned the general more anxiety, than their numbers gave him either ſupport or confidence. But though Metellus ſaw the ſummer far advanced, from the elections being put off, and conſidered that his fellow citizens were impatient for the iſſue; yet he determined not to enter upon action, till, by reſtoring the ancient diſcipline, he had enabled the ſoldiers to endure fatigue. For Albinus, ſtruck with the diſgrace of his brother Aulus, and the overthrow of his troops, having reſolved not to ſtir out of the province, during ſo much of the ſummer as he commanded, kept the ſoldiers for the moſt part in the ſame camp, till ſtench or want of forage obliged him to remove. Beſides, contrary to all the rules of war, no watch was kept in the camp; the men left their enſigns at pleaſure: and the leaders, together with the ſoldiers, wandered abroad day and night, robbing the farms, pillaging the fields, and ſtriving to exceed one another in carrying off cattle and captives, which they exchanged with the merchants for wine, and other ſuch things; nay, they ſold the corn that was allowed them by the ſtate, and bought their bread

bread from day to day. In a word, all the exceſſes of idleneſs and luxury that can either be expreſſed or imagined, prevailed in that army.

Metellus appears to me, to have approved himſelf as able and wiſe a man, by the manner in which he cured theſe great diſorders, as by his conduct againſt the enemy; ſo juſt a medium did he obſerve between a ſervile deſire to gain the affections of the ſoldiers, and a ſeverity in puniſhing them. For by his firſt edict, he removed every thing that could adminiſter to idleneſs, ordering, that none 'ſhould ſell bread, or any dreſſed victuals in the 'camp; that no ſutlers ſhould follow the army; and 'that no common ſoldier ſhould have a ſervant, or 'any beaſt of burden either in the camp, or on a 'march.' He made other regulations too with great judgment. Beſides, he decamped daily, marching his army through croſs and difficult places; fortified his camp with a ditch and paliſade, as if an enemy had been at hand; ſet guards, and changed them often; and went frequently round them all himſelf, attended by his lieutenant-generals. On a march too he was equally vigilant, appearing one while in the front, another in the rear, and often in the main body; to ſee that none quitted their ranks, that all kept cloſe by their ſtandards, and carried their own arms and proviſions. Thus, in a ſhort time, he reſtored diſcipline and vigour to his troops, rather by preventing abuſes than puniſhing them.

Jugurtha, in the mean time, having learned from his emiſſaries, what meaſures were taken by Metellus, whoſe integrity he had been convinced of when at Rome, began to deſpair of ſucceſs, and thought of ſurrendering himſelf in good earneſt. Accordingly he ſent ambaſſadors to the conſul,

with power to deliver up all to the Romans, only ſtipulating for his own life, and that of his children. But Metellus, who had learned by experience that the Numidians were a faithleſs people, fickle and fond of change, applied to each of the ambaſſadors apart; and when, by ſifting them, he found they were proper inſtruments for his purpoſe, he engaged them, by great promiſes, to deliver up Jugurtha to him, alive, if poſſible; if not, to bring him his head: and his anſwer to their ambaſſy he gave them in public. In a few days after, he went into Numidia at the head of a reſolute army, where he found none of the ſymptoms of war, but the country-houſes full of inhabitants, flocks and herds feeding in the fields, and the huſbandmen all at work. The king's officers came from the towns and cottages to meet him, offering to furniſh him with carriages and proviſions, and, in a word, to do whatever he ſhould order them. Metellus, notwithſtanding all this, was ſtill upon his guard; marched with his ranks, as if the enemy had been at hand; and ſent ſcouts to view the country a great way round, looking upon theſe marks of ſubmiſſion as contrived for ſhew only, and to draw him into an ambuſh. Wherefore he himſelf marched always in the front, with ſome light armed cohorts, and a ſelect body of ſlingers and archers; leaving his lieutenant-general C. Marius at the head of the cavalry to bring up the rear. The auxiliary horſe he placed on each wing, and gave the command of them to the tribunes of the legions, and the præfects of the cohorts, mixing with them the light armed foot, that the enemy's cavalry might be repulſed, on what ſide ſoever they made their attack. For Jugurtha had ſo much ſubtlety, ſo perfect a knowledge of the country, and ſuch abilities in war, that it was uncertain, whether he was more miſchievous

chievous when at a diſtance or near; when making propoſals for peace or openly engaged in war.

Not far from Metellus's rout, there was a city called Vacca, the moſt famous for commerce in all Numidia, very much frequented by Italians, who came to it for traffic, and many of whom had ſettled in it. The conſul put a garriſon into this place, either to try whether Jugurtha would bear with it, or becauſe he was pleaſed with its ſituation; and likewiſe ordered corn and other neceſſaries to be brought him: ſuppoſing, as was very natural for him to do, that his army would be abundantly ſupplied, from ſuch a concourſe of traders, and ſuch plenty of proviſions; and that the place itſelf would be very convenient for executing the deſigns he had already formed. In the mean time Jugurtha renenewed his applications to the conſul with greater earneſtneſs, ſtill ſending ambaſſadors to implore peace, and offering to deliver up all he had, without ſtipulating for any thing but his own life and that of his children. The conſul having engaged theſe ambaſſadors, as he had the firſt, to betray their maſter, ſent them back without either promiſing or denying the peace; waiting, in the mean time, the execution of what they had undertaken.

When Jugurtha compared the words of Metellus with his actions, and found that his own arts were practiſed upon him, that whilſt he was amuſed with the hopes of peace, he was warmly purſued with war; when he ſaw that he had loſt one of his ſtrongeſt cities, that the enemy was well acquainted with his territories, and his ſubjects ſollicited to revolt; being forced by his deſperate ſituation, he determined to hazard a battle. Accordingly, having got intelligence of the enemy's rout, and conceiving

hopes of victory from the advantages which the country gave him, he raiſed a force as great as he could, and by private ways got before the army of Metellus.

In that part of Numidia, which, upon the diviſion of it, fell to the ſhare of Atherbal, was a river called Muthul flowing from the South; parallel to which, at the diſtance of about twenty miles, there was a mountain of equal length, deſart and uncultivated. Between this mountain and the river, almoſt at an equal diſtance from each, roſe a hill of prodigious height, covered with olives, myrtles, and other trees, ſuch as grow in a dry and ſandy ſoil: The intermediate plain was all deſart for want of water, thoſe parts only excepted which bordered upon the river, in which were many groves, and abundance of cattle and inhabitants. Jugurtha took poſſeſſion of this hill, which flanked the Romans in their march to the river, extending his front as far as poſſible; and giving the command of the elephants and part of the foot to Bomilcar, with orders how to act, he poſted himſelf with all the horſe and the choiceſt of the foot, nearer the mountain. Then he rode round the ſeveral ſquadrons and battalions, conjuring them 'to ſummon 'up their former bravery, and mindful of their late 'victory, to defend themſelves and their country 'from the Roman avarice. They were to engage 'with thoſe, whom they had already vanquiſhed, 'and forced to paſs under the yoke: and who had 'only changed their general but not their ſpirit. 'As for himſelf, he had done all that was incumbent upon a general to do; had ſecured to them 'the advantages of the ground, which they were 'well acquainted with, and the enemy a ſtranger 'to; and had taken care not to expoſe them to an 'unequal engagement with an enemy ſuperior in 'num-

'number or ſkill: they ſhould therefore, when the 'ſignal was given, fall vigorouſly upon the Romans; 'this day would either crown their former toils and 'victories, or be a prelude to the moſt grievous 'calamities.' Beſides, addreſſing himſelf ſingly to ſuch as he had rewarded with honours or money for their gallant behaviour, he put them in mind of his favours, and propoſed them to others as patterns for their imitation. In a word, he applied to all, in a manner ſuited to the diſpoſition of each, and by promiſes, threatnings and intreaties rouzed their courage.

In the mean time, Metellus deſcending from the mountain with his army, without knowing any thing of the enemy's motions, diſcovered them upon the hill. At firſt he did not know what to think of ſo ſtrange an appearance; for the Numidian horſe and foot were poſted among the buſhes, by reaſon of the lowneſs of which they were neither altogether covered, nor yet intirely diſcerned: the obſcurity of the place, and their own artificial poſture preventing them from being clearly ſeen: but ſoon finding that it was an ambuſh, he made his army halt a little, and altering the diſpoſition of it, he made the flank next the enemy thrice as ſtrong as before, diſtributed the ſlingers and archers among the infantry, placed all the cavalry in the wings, and animating them by a ſhort ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion, advanced, in this order, towards the plain.

But obſerving the Numidians to keep their ground, without offering to ſtir from the hill, and fearing leſt, from the heat of the ſeaſon, and the ſcarcity of water, his army would be diſtreſſed by thirſt, he ordered his lieutenant-general Rutilius, with the light armed cohorts, and a detachment of horſe,

to march before him to the river, and ſecure a place to encamp on: judging that the enemy would, by frequent ſkirmiſhes, and attacks upon his flank, endeavour to retard his march, and to harraſs his men by thirſt and continual fatigue, as they had no hopes of ſucceſs in battle. He then advanced gently, as his circumſtances and ſituation allowed him, in the ſame order as he had deſcended from the mountain; poſting Marius in the center, and marching himſelf in the left wing, at the head of the cavalry, which was now become the front.

Jugurtha, when he ſaw that the Roman rear had got beyond his firſt rank, detached two thouſand foot, to take poſſeſſion of that part of the mountain from whence Metellus had deſcended, that it might not ſerve the enemy for a place of ſecurity, if they were routed; and then, giving the ſignal, fell upon them. Some of his men made great ſlaughter in our rear, whilſt others charged us on the right and left; they advanced furiouſly, fought vigorouſly, and every where broke our ranks. Even thoſe of our men, who oppoſed them with the greateſt firmneſs and reſolution, were baffled by their diſorderly manner of fighting: being wounded at a diſtance, and unable to return blow for blow, or come to a cloſe engagement: for the Numidian cavalry, according to the inſtructions they had received trom Jugurtha, when any of the Roman troops advanced againſt them, immediately fled, not in cloſe order, or in a body, but diſperſed as wide as poſſible. As they could not, however, by this means diſcourage us from purſuing them, yet being ſuperior in number, they charged us either in flank or rear; and when the hill ſeemed more convenient to fly to than the plain, their horſes, being accuſtomed to it, made their way more eaſily through the thickets; whilſt ours, not being uſed

to

to ſuch rough and difficult places, could not follow them.

The whole tranſaction, indeed, afforded a ſpectacle various and perplexed, diſmal and ſhocking; ſome flying, others purſuing: all ſeparated from their fellows; no ſtandard kept to; no ranks obſerved; every one ſtanding upon his defence, and repulſing his adverſary, wherever he was attacked; arms and darts, horſes and men, enemies and fellow citizens blended together in wild confuſion; nothing acted by counſel, nothing by authority, but chance over-ruling every thing. So that, though the day was far ſpent, the event was ſtill uncertain. At laſt, both ſides being fatigued with fighting and the heat of the day, Metellus, perceiving the Numidian vigour abated, rallied his men by degrees, reſtored their ranks, and poſted four legionary cohorts againſt the enemy's foot, a great part of which had, through wearineſs, retired to the riſing grounds for repoſe. At the ſame time he intreated and exhorted his men not to loſe their courage, nor ſuffer a flying enemy to be victorious; adding, that they had no camp nor caſtles to fly to, but that all their hopes were in their arms. Nor was Jugurtha, indeed, in the mean time unactive, but rode about, animated his men, renewed the fight, and, at the head of a ſelect body, made all poſſible efforts; ſupported his men, where they were preſſed; charged the enemy vigorouſly, where they wavered; and, where they ſtood firm, annoyed them with darts at a diſtance.

Thus did theſe two generals contend, both excellent officers, and equally matched, but unequally ſupported. Metellus had brave men, but a bad ſituation; Jugurtha had every other advantage, but that of ſoldiers. At laſt the Romans conſider-

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ing that no place of refuge was left them; that the enemy avoided every opportunity of engaging, and that night approached; advanced up the hill, according to orders, and made themſelves maſters of it. The Numidians, having loſt this poſt, were routed and put to flight, but few of them ſlain: their own ſwiftneſs, and our being unacquainted with the country, ſaved moſt of them.

In the mean time, Bomilcar, to whom Jugurtha, as we have already related, had given the command of the elephants and part of the foot, when he ſaw that Rutilius had paſſed him, drew down his men gently into the plain; where, without being interrupted, he drew them up in order of battle, as the exigency required, whilſt the lieutenant-general was marching with great haſte to the river, whither the conſul had ſent him: nor did he neglect to inform himſelf of what the Romans were doing on every ſide. As ſoon as he had learned that Rutilius was encamped, and free from all apprehenſions of danger; and perceiving that the noiſe of the battle, wherein Jugurtha was engaged, grew greater; fearing leaſt the lieutenant-general, upon diſcovering the matter, ſhould return to the relief of our men in diſtreſs, in order to obſtruct his paſſage, he extended his front, which before, diſtruſting the bravery of his troops, he had formed cloſe and compact; and in this order advanced to the camp of Rutilius.

The Romans on a ſudden perceived a great cloud of duſt, which at firſt they ſuppoſed was raiſed by the wind driving the dry ſoil; for the country being covered with buſhes hindered their view of the Numidians: but obſerving it to continue conſtant, and approach nearer and nearer as the army moved, they perceived what the cauſe of it was, and flying

ing to their arms, drew up before the camp, according to orders. When the enemy was come up, they encountered on both ſides with terrible ſhouts. The Numidians maintained the fight, as long as they thought their elephants could be of any ſervice to them; but when they ſaw them entangled among the branches of the trees, and ſurrounded by our men, they betook themſelves to flight, and throwing away their arms, eſcaped moſt of them unhurt, partly by the advantage of the hill, and partly by that of the night.

Four elephants were taken, the reſt, forty in number, were all ſlain. The Romans, however, though fatigued with their march, with fortifying their camp, and fighting; and though all highly pleaſed with their ſucceſs, yet, as Metellus tarried beyond their expectation, they advanced reſolutely in order of battle to meet him: for ſuch was the Numidian ſubtlety, as to leave no room for inactivity or remiſſneſs. When they were at a ſmall diſtance from one another, as the night was dark, the noiſe on both ſides greatly alarmed each with the apprehenſions of an approaching enemy: and this miſtake had like to have produced the moſt fatal conſequences, if ſome horſemen, diſpatched by both parties, had not diſcovered the true cauſe of it. Whereupon their fear was quickly changed into gladneſs; the ſoldiers joyfully called to one another by name; mutually recounted their late exploits: and every one extolling his own gallant behaviour to the ſkies. For ſuch is the nature of human affairs; upon a victory even cowards may boaſt; whilſt a defeat caſts reproach even on the brave.

Metellus continued for four days in the ſame camp; took proper care of the wounded; conferred the uſual military rewards on ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed

tinguiſhed themſelves in the late engagements; commended the whole army, which he aſſembled with that view; returned them his publick thanks; then exhorted them 'to act with equal courage in what 'farther remained, which was but little. They had 'already fought ſufficiently for victory; their future 'labours would be only to enrich themſelves with 'plunder.' In the mean time, however, he diſpatched away deſerters, and other proper perſons, to diſcover where Jugurtha was; what he was doing; whether he was at the head of an army, or attended only with a few; and how he brooked his defeat. The king, he found, had retired into woods and places fortified by nature, and raiſed an army more numerous than the former, but weak and ſpiritleſs; better acquainted with tilling and paſture, than with war: the reaſon of which was, that, upon a defeat, none of the Numidians follow their king, excepting his horſe-guards; the reſt go wherever they pleaſe. Nor is this reckoned any reproach, it being the cuſtom of the nation.

Metellus, when he ſaw that the king's ſpirit was ſtill undaunted, that the war was to be renewed, which could not be carried on, but juſt as Jugurtha pleaſed; and moreover conſidered, upon what unequal terms he engaged the enemy, who ſuffered leſs by a defeat, than he did in defeating them; he reſolved to purſue the war, not regularly by pitched battles, but in a different manner. Accordingly, he marches into the richeſt parts of Numidia; ravages the country; takes many towns and caſtles, that were either ſlighly fortified, or without garriſons, and burns them; orders the youth to be put to the ſword, and gives every thing elſe to the ſoldiers for ſpoil. This manner of proceeding ſtruck ſuch terror, that many hoſtages were given him; corn, and other neceſſaries plentifully ſupplied; and

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gariſons ſuffered to be placed wherever he judged convenient. Theſe meaſures alarmed the king more than the loſs of the late battle; for he, who had no hopes but in flying before us, was now forced to follow us; and though he could not defend his own territories, he was obliged to wage war in thoſe poſſeſſed by the Romans. Under this difficulty, however, he purſued ſuch meaſures as ſeemed moſt adviſeable. He ordered the greateſt part of his army to continue together, whilſt he himſelf, with a ſelect body of cavalry, purſued Metellus; and by marching in the night-time through bye roads, he ſurprized ſuch of our men as were rambling over the country; moſt of whom being unarmed were ſlain, many were taken priſoners, and none eſcaped without being wounded. For, before any aſſiſtance could be ſent them from the camp, the Numidians had, according to orders, retired to the neighbouring hills.

In the mean time, there was great joy at Rome, when they heard of the management of Metellus; 'how he had conducted himſelf and his army ac-'cording to the antient diſcipline; had, by his bra-'very come off victorious, though under the diſad-'vantage of ſituation; had made himſelf maſter of 'the enemy's country; and forced Jugurtha, whom 'the infamous conduct of Aulus had lately rendered 'ſo inſolent, to place all his hopes of ſafety in flight 'and deſarts.' The ſenate, therefore, 'appointed publick thankſgivings and oblations to the immortal gods, for the ſucceſs of their arms. The city, before full of anxiety for the event of the war, was now full of joy, and nothing was to be heard but the praiſes of Metellus: which made him exert more vigorous efforts to obtain a compleat victory; with which view, he puſhed all his meaſures with the utmoſt diligence, ſtill guarding, however, againſt any

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ſurprize from the enemy, and remembring that after glory comes envy. Thus the more renowned he was, the more vigilant he became; nor, ſince the late unexpected attack from Jugurtha, would he ſuffer his men to ſpread themſelves over the country in queſt of plunder. When he ſtood in need of corn or forage, he detached all the cavalry, with ſome bands of foot, to guard it. One part of the army he commanded himſelf, and Marius the other; the country was laid waſte more by fire than depredations.

The two bodies of the army encamped ſeparately, but at a ſmall diſtance from each other, and when there was occaſion for it, they united; but, in order to ſpread terror and deſolation the farther, they acted apart. Jugurtha all this time followed them upon the mountains; watching ſome favourable opportunity or ſituation to attack them; and whenever he heard which way they intended to march, he deſtroyed the forage and the ſprings, of which there was great ſcarcity. One while he preſented himſelf to Metellus, another to Marius; ſometimes he fell upon their rear, and then preſently drew off to the hills; by and by he attacked them again, now in one quarter, now in another; neither venturing a battle, nor ſuffering them to be quiet; but only endeavouring to hinder the execution of their deſigns.

When the Roman general perceived that he was harraſſed by the artful management of the enemy, who avoided all occaſions of giving him battle; he determined to lay ſiege to Zama, a very conſiderable city, and the bulwark of the kingdom on that ſide; ſuppoſing that Jugurtha would not fail to advance to the relief of his ſubjects in that diſtreſs, and that an engagement would thereupon enſue. But Jugurtha,

tha, having got intelligence of this deſign from the deſerters, reached Zama by great marches before Metellus; encouraged the inhabitants to defend their walls, and reinforced them with a body of deſerters, who were the moſt deſperate of all his forces, as they durſt not betray him. He promiſed, beſides, that he would return in due time to their aſſiſtance, at the head of an army. Having thus regulated his affairs, he withdrew into the moſt ſolitary parts of the country; and ſoon after being informed that Marius, with a few cohorts, was ſent from the army as it marched, to bring proviſions from Sicca, which was the firſt town that revolted from him after his defeat; he went thither by night, with a ſelect body of horſe, and attacked the Romans juſt as they were returning thro' the gate. At the ſame time, he called aloud to the inhabitants, 'to fall upon the 'cohorts in the rear; that fortune preſented them 'with an opportunity of performing a noble atchieve-'ment; which if they did, that he ſhould for the 'future enjoy his kingdom, and they their liberties 'in ſafety.' And had not Marius advanced the ſtandards, and got ſpeedily out of the town, the greateſt part of the inhabitants, if not all, would certainly have changed ſides; ſuch is the inconſtancy of the Numidians. But Jugurtha's troops, who, being animated by him, had, for a ſhort time, maintained the fight, finding themſelves preſſed by the Romans with ſuperior vigour, fled with the loſs of a few of their men, and Marius arrived before Zama.

This town was built on a plain; better fortified by art than nature; well furniſhed with every thing neceſſary; and abounding with men and arms. Metellus, having regulated every thing, as the occaſion and undertaking required, ſurrounded it with his army: aſſigned his lieutenants their ſeveral poſts of com-

command; and then, upon a ſignal given, a great ſhout was raiſed at once from all quarters. This, however, did not terrify the Numidians, who waited the attack without any diſorder, full of ardor and reſolution: accordingly the encounter begun; our men fought each according to his inclination; ſome at a diſtance, with ſtones and ſlings; ſome withdrew after they had attacked, and others came in their place; one while they undermined the walls, another they endeavoured to ſcale them; all eager to engage the enemy in cloſe fight. The townſmen, on the other hand, rolled down ſtones on thoſe who came neareſt the walls; and diſcharged darts, ſtakes, and burning torches of pitch and ſulphur upon them. Nor were ſuch of our men as kept at a diſtance thro' fear, the more ſecure for it; moſt of them being wounded by weapons thrown by engines, or by force of arm. So that the cowards were expoſed to equal danger with the brave, without ſharing their glory.

During this conteſt at Zama, Jugurtha, at the head of a great body of troops, ſurprized the Roman camp, and by reaſon of the negligence of the guard, who apprehending nothing leſs than an attack, broke in at one of the gates. Our men, ſtruck with ſudden conſternation, conſulted their ſafety, each according to his character: ſome fled, others had recourſe to their arms, and many of them were wounded or ſlain. Of all the number there were only forty, who acted like Romans: They forming themſelves into a body, took poſſeſſion of a riſing ground, which they maintained againſt the moſt vigorous efforts of the enemy to diſpoſſeſs them; and even returned the darts that were thrown at them, which did the more execution, as they were few againſt many. If the Numidians ventured nearer them,

them, then they exerted their utmoſt bravery, ſlaying, routing, and putting them to flight.

In the mean time, whilſt Metellus was carrying on the ſiege of Zama with great vigour, he heard a noiſe and ſhouting behind him, like that of an enemy, and turning his horſe, obſerved men flying towards him, a certain proof that they were his own. Wherefore he immediately ſent the whole cavalry to the camp; and ſoon after C. Marius with the auxiliary cohorts; conjuring him with tears, 'by 'their mutual friendſhip, by his regard to the public 'welfare, not to ſuffer ſuch a ſtain to reſt upon a 'victorious army, nor the enemy to eſcape, without 'taking ample vengeance upon them.' Marius quickly executed his orders.

Jugurtha now found himſelf and his men embarraſſed in our entrenchments; ſome threw themſelves over the rampart; the reſt, ſtriving to get through the gates, which were too narrow, obſtructed one another; ſo that after the loſs of a great many men, he betook himſelf to his ſtrong holds. Metellus, not ſucceeding in his attempt upon the town, returned in the evening with his army to the camp.

The next day, before he returned to renew the aſſault, he poſted all his horſe without the camp, with orders to guard that ſide, on which he expected Jugurtha would appear; and having diſtributed the guard of the gates, and the adjoining poſts, amongſt the tribunes, he advanced to the town, and made an aſſault upon the walls as he had done the day before. Jugurtha in the mean time, leaving his covert, fell ſuddenly upon our men. Thoſe of the advanced guard being ſomewhat terrified, were put into diſorder, but quickly relieved by the reſt; ſo that

the Numidians could not have maintained their ground any longer, if their foot, mixing with their horſe, had not done great execution among us: for the horſe truſting to the aſſiſtance of the foot, did not charge as formerly, advancing and retiring by turns, but preſſed forward with great vigour, grappled with our men and broke them; then delivered them up, when nigh conquered, to be diſpatched by their light armed foot.

During this very time, there was a ſharp conflict at Zama; the lieutenants and tribunes made prodigious efforts in their ſeveral poſts; all placing their hopes of victory in their own bravery, rather than in the aſſiſtance of others. The townſmen, too, made a vigorous reſiſtance, boldly repulſing our men, and defending themſelves reſolutely in every quarter. They were more eager, indeed, on both ſides, to wound the enemy than to protect themſelves. A confuſed noiſe of exhortations, ſhouts of joy, and groans aroſe continually; the din of arms reached the ſkies; and darts flew thick on every ſide. Thoſe who defended the walls, when they found the fury of the beſiegers ever ſo little abated, viewed the engagement of the cavalry with great earneſtneſs: and according as Jugurtha prevailed or not, you might have obſerved their joy or concern: nay, as if they could have been heard or ſeen by their friends, ſome adviſed them, others encouraged them, making ſigns with their hands, and moving their bodies this way and that, as if they themſelves had been avoiding darts or throwing them. When Marius, who commanded in that quarter, obſerved this, he purpoſely ſlackened his attack, as if he had loſt all hopes of ſucceſs, and ſuffered them to view the engagement at the camp without interruption. Then, whilſt their attention was cloſely engaged, he made a ſudden and vigorous aſſault upon the walls;

walls; and the ſoldiers had almoſt gained the top of them with their ſcaling ladders, when the townſmen flying to their defence, poured down upon the beſiegers ſtones, fire, and all ſorts of weapons. Our men ſuſtained all this for a while, but ſome of the ladders breaking down, and thoſe who ſtood upon them tumbling headlong, the reſt retreated each as he could, the greateſt part of them covered with wounds, few eſcaping unhurt. At laſt night put an end to the combat.

Metellus, finding that his attempt upon the town was unſucceſsful; that Jugurtha was determined not to engage, unleſs by ſurprize, or where he had the advantage of the ground, and that the ſummer was already over, left Zama, and placed garriſons in thoſe cities which had revolted to him, and were ſtrong by nature or well fortified; then put his army into winter quarters in thoſe parts of our province, where it borders upon Numidia. Nor did he ſpend his time there, as others had done, in luxury and inaction; but finding what ſmall progreſs he made in the war by fighting, he formed a deſign to defeat the king, by employing the treachery of his friends againſt him inſtead of arms. Accordingly he applies to Bomilcar, who had been at Rome with Jugurtha, and being arraigned for the murder of Maſſiva, had fled from thence to evade his tryal, abandoning his ſureties. This man, who had the beſt opportunity of betraying the king upon account of his great intimacy with him, Metellus prevailed upon, by the force of promiſes, to come firſt to a private conference with him; then, pledging his honour, 'that if he would deliver to him Jugurtha 'dead or alive, he would procure him his pardon 'from the ſenate, with the enjoyment of his whole 'fortune;' he eaſily perſuaded the Numidian, who was naturally faithleſs, and likewiſe afraid, leſt, if

a peace was concluded with the Romans, he ſhould, by the articles of it, be delivered up to puniſhment.

Bomilcar, as ſoon as he found an opportunity, accoſted Jugurtha, when full of anxiety, and lamenting his lot; and with tears in his eyes preſſed and conjured him, 'to conſult at laſt his own ſafety, 'that of his children, and the Numidians, who had 'been ſo zealouſly devoted to his ſervice. He beg-'ged of him to conſider, that he had been defeated 'in every engagement; that his country was laid 'waſte; many of his ſubjects taken; many of 'them ſlain; the ſtrength of his kingdom exhauſted; 'that he had already ſufficiently tried the bravery of 'his troops, and the inclination of fortune, and 'ought now to take care, leſt the Numidians, whilſt 'he thus delayed, ſhould provide for their own 'ſafety.' By theſe and the like arguments he prevailed upon the king to ſurrender. Accordingly ambaſſadors were ſent to Metellus, to let him know that Jugurtha was ready to ſubmit to whatever he ſhould deſire, and to deliver himſelf and his kingdom abſolutely to his diſpoſal. Metellus forthwith ordered all thoſe of ſenatorial rank to be ſummoned from their winter quarters, and adviſed with them, and others whom he though proper to conſult upon the occaſion; acting herein according to ancient uſage. Then, agreeably to an order of the council, he ſent deputies to Jugurtha, commanding him, 'to deliver up to the Romans two hundred thouſand 'pounds of ſilver, all his elephants, with ſome 'horſes and arms.' This being immediately complied with, 'he ordered 'all our deſerters to be brought him in chains.' A great part of them were brought accordingly; the reſt, who were but few in number, had fled for refuge to Bocchus king of Mauritania, upon the firſt appearance of a ſurrender.

render. When Jugurtha, thus ſtripped of his arms, men, and money, was himſelf ſummoned to Tiſidium to ſurrender to the conſul, he began again to change his mind, and to dread the puniſhment, which he was conſcious to himſelf was due to his crimes. Many days were ſpent by him in irreſolution; one while he preferred any terms whatever to war, being tired with calamities; another, he conſidered what a terrible fall it was from a throne to ſervitude: but at laſt he determined to renew the war, after he had needleſly diveſted himſelf of ſo conſiderable a part of his ſtrength. The ſenate at Rome, too, having met to conſult about the diſtribution of provinces, had, during this juncture, decreed Numidia to Metellus.

About the ſame time, as C. Marius, who happened to be at Utica, was ſacrificing to the gods, he was told by a diviner, 'that great and wonder-'ful things were preſaged to him; he ſhould there-'fore purſue whatever deſigns he had formed, and 'truſt the gods for their ſucceſs; he might try for-'tune as much as he pleaſed, all his undertakings 'would ſucceed.' Now Marius had been long ſeized with an ardent deſire of the conſulſhip, and had indeed every qualification for obtaining it, except that of a noble deſcent: he had induſtry, probity, vaſt knowledge in war, great ſpirit in battle, uncommon ſobriety, a ſoul that diſdained to be enſlaved to riches or pleaſure, and which only thirſted after glory. He was born at Arpinum, where he paſt his childhood, and as ſoon as he was of age to bear arms, he did not give himſelf up to the ſtudy of Grecian eloquence, nor to the delicacies of Rome, but to the life of a ſoldier; and thus, in a ſhort time, did this excellent genius, by a proper courſe of diſcipline, acquire a maſterly knowledge in war: ſo that when he made his firſt ſuit to the

people for the military tribuneſhip, though the greateſt part of them did not know his face, his character was ſo well known, that he obtained it by the voices of all the tribes. After that, he mounted ſtill higher, and in every office which he bore, behaved ſo well, that he was always thought to deſerve a greater. Yet Marius, with all his merit, till this time (for ambition afterwards hurried him into ſtrange exceſſes) had not dared to ſtand for the conſulſhip. For though the people, at that time, conferred all the other offices, that of conſul the nobility engroſſed to themſelves: every new man, however renowned or diſtinguiſhed by his merit, was reckoned, by them, unworthy of that ſupreme magiſtracy, and, as it were, a profane perſon.

When Marius perceived, that the anſwer from the diviner was agreeable to his own inclinations, he petitioned Metellus for leave to go to Rome, to ſtand for the conſulſhip. Metellus, though he had a great deal of virtue and honour, and other deſireable qualities, yet poſſeſſed a haughty and diſdainful ſpirit, the common failing of the nobility; he was, therefore, at firſt, ſtruck with ſo extraordinary a requeſt, expreſſed his great ſurprize at his deſigns, and adviſed him, as in friendſhip, 'not to entertain 'ſuch unreaſonable views, nor ſuffer his mind to be 'exalted above his ſtation; it did not become every 'man to aſpire after every thing; he ought to be 'contented with his preſent condition; in a word, 'he ought to take care, not to demand that of the 'Roman people, which they might juſtly refuſe 'him.' When, after theſe and the like remonſtrances, he ſtill found Marius ſteady to his purpoſe, he promiſed to grant his requeſt, as ſoon as the condition of publick affairs would allow him. After this, as he ſtill continued to urge his petition, Metellus is reported to have told him; 'that he had

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'no need to be in ſuch a hurry, for that it would 'be time enough for him to ſtand for the conſulſhip, 'when his ſon was of age to join with him.' This youth was then about twenty years of age, and ſerving under his father, but had no command.

This fired Marius with a more ardent deſire of obtaining the conſulſhip, and highly incenſed him againſt Metellus; ſo that he blindly followed the dictates of ambition and reſentment, the worſt of counſellors. He did and ſaid every thing that could promote his views: he gave greater liberty to the ſoldiers under his command in their winter quarters, than formerly; he enveighed ſeverely, to our traders, then in great numbers at Utica, againſt Metellus's manner of conducting the war, and boaſted greatly of himſelf: 'that were but half the army 'under his command, he would in a few days have 'Jugurtha in chains: that the conſul prolonged the 'war on purpoſe, being a vain man, poſſeſſed of 'kingly pride, and fond of command.' All which was the more readily believed by thoſe traders, as they had ſuffered in their fortunes by the long continuance of the war; and to an impatient ſpirit, no meaſures appear expeditious enough.

There was, beſides, in our army a Numidian named Gauda, the ſon of Manaſtabal, and grandſon of Maſiniſſa, whom Micipſa had appointed next heir to his immediate ſucceſſors; one whoſe bodily diſorders had impaired the faculties of his mind. This man had applied to Metellus for a ſeat next him, and afterwards for a troop of Roman horſe for his guard, and was denied both; the ſeat, becauſe it was conferred on none but thoſe whom the Roman people diſtinguiſhed with the title of kings; the troop, becauſe it would be an affront to the Roman horſe to be body-guards to a Numidian. This

double refuſal filled his mind with diſcontent, in the height of which Marius accoſted him, and prompted him to ſeek revenge for the affronts put upon him by the general, promiſing him his aſſiſtance. By ſoothing ſpeeches, he filled the imagination of the man, whoſe faculties were weakned by diſeaſes, with a high conceit of his own dignity, extolling him 'as a prince, a perſon of great importance, 'the grandſon of Maſiniſſa; one who would forth-'with get the kingdom of Numidia, were Jugurtha 'once taken or ſlain, which would preſently happen, 'if he himſelf was made conſul, and had the ma-'nagement of the war.'

By theſe means, not only Gauda, but the Roman knights, ſoldiers, and traders, were all engaged, ſome by Marius, moſt of them by their hopes of a ſpeedy peace, to write to their friends at Rome concerning the war, with ſevere invectives againſt Metellus, and to deſire Marius might be made general. Thus the conſulſhip was ſolicited for him by great numbers of men, in a manner highly honourable to him. The people, too, at this juncture, having given a deep wound to the power of the nobility by the Mamilian law, were proceeding to raiſe plebeians to the chief magiſtracies; ſo that every thing favoured the views of Marius.

Jugurtha, in the mean time, having dropped his purpoſe of ſurrendring, and begun the war afreſh, made preparations for it with the utmoſt diligence and diſpatch. He raiſed an army; endeavoured, by threats or promiſes, to recover the cities which had revolted from him; fortified what places he ſtill held; made or bought arms, and warlike ſtores, in the room of thoſe, which he had parted with in hopes of peace; ſolicited the Roman ſlaves to join him; tempted thoſe who were in the garri-

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ſons with his money; in a word, he left nothing unattempted; raiſed commotions every where, and puſhed every poſſible meaſure. In conſequence of theſe efforts, the principal inhabitants of Vacca, where Metellus had placed a garriſon upon the firſt propoſals made by Jugurtha for a peace, being wearied out with the king's importunities, and indeed not alienated from him in their affections, entered into a conſpiracy for betraying the city. For the populace were, what they generally are every where, more eſpecially in Numidia, inconſtant, ſeditious, fond of diſturbances and innovations, and enemies to tranquility and repoſe. Having concerted their ſcheme, they pitched upon the third day following for the execution of it; becauſe that being a feſtival, to be celebrated throughout all Africa, was thought a more proper ſeaſon to inſpire mirth and jollity, than fear and diſtruſt. When the day came, the conſpirators invited the centurions, the military tribunes, and T. Turpilius Silanus, governor of the city, to their ſeveral houſes, and butchered them all, amidſt the feaſt, except Turpilius; after which they fell upon the ſoldiers, who, as it was a day of rejoicing, were diſperſed over the town, without their arms, and under no command. The populace joined them, part of them being inſtructed before hand by the nobility, and others puſhed on by their paſſion for ſuch proceedings; being highly pleaſed with the commotion, and the novelty of the thing, though they neither knew what was tranſacting, nor the reaſon of it.

The Roman ſoldiers, ſtruck with this ſudden alarm, and not knowing whence it aroſe, nor what courſe to take, fled in great confuſion to the caſtle, where their ſtandards and ſhields lay; but found it ſhut and guarded by the enemy. The city gates too

too were ſhut to prevent their eſcape, and to heighten their calamity, the women and children with great fury, poured down upon them, from the tops of the houſes, ſtones and whatever elſe came to their hands. Being thus beſet with danger in various ſhapes without being able to guard againſt it, and the braveſt men incapable of reſiſting the weakeſt hands; the worthleſs and the worthy, the daring and the cowardly, periſhed all alike unrevenged. During ſo direful a maſſacre, whilſt the Numidians exerciſed the utmoſt rage and cruelty, and the city was ſhut on all ſides, Turpilius the governor eſcaped unhurt, the only Italian who did ſo: but whether this was owing to the kindneſs of his hoſt, to private compact, or chance, does not clearly appear; which way ſoever it was, he muſt be conſidered as a worthleſs and infamous wretch, ſince in ſo great a calamity to the ſtate, he preferred an inglorious life to unſullied honour.

Metellus, when he heard of what had paſſed at Vacca, was ſo deeply afflicted, that he did not appear in public for ſome time; but indignation mixing with his grief, he made all poſſible haſte to revenge the injury. Accordingly he drew out the legion which wintered with him, with as many light Numidian horſe as he could get together; and marching about ſun-ſet, at the head of this detachment, he arrived next morning, about the third hour, in a certain place incloſed on all ſides with ſmall eminences. There, the ſoldiers being fatigued with the length of their march, and refuſing to obey any further orders, he informed them that the town of Vacca was not above a mile off; and that it became them patiently to endure the ſmall remaining fatigue, ſince it was to take vengeance for the death of their fellow-citizens, the braveſt

braveſt of men, and miſerably maſſacred. He likewiſe generouſly offered them the whole plunder; and having thus rouzed their courage, he placed the cavalry in the front, ordering them to extend themſelves as wide as poſſible, and the foot to march in cloſe array, concealing their ſtandards.

The inhabitants of Vacca, obſerving an army march towards them, judged rightly at firſt, that it was Metellus, and accordingly ſhut their gates; but when they ſaw that the lands were not ravaged, and that thoſe in the front were Numidian horſe, they next imagined it was Jugurtha, and went out with great joy to meet him. Our horſe and foot, upon a ſudden ſignal given, immediately fell upon them; ſome cut off the rabble that poured out of the city in great numbers; others haſtened to ſecure the gates; and part ſeized upon the towers: their thirſt of vengeance, and hopes of plunder, making them forget their wearineſs. Thus the people of Vacca triumphed only for two days in their treachery; and their city, which was great and opulent, was delivered up wholly to the fury of our ſoldiers eager for vengeance and rapine. Turpilius the governor of the city, who, as we have already related, was the only one that made his eſcape, was ſummoned before Metellus, to anſwer for his conduct; but not clearing himſelf, he was condemned, ſentenced to be ſcourged, and then put to death; a puniſhment inflicted upon him as a native of Latium.

About this time Bomilcar, at whoſe inſtigation Jugurtha had offered to ſurrender, though he was prevented by fear from doing it, was very deſirous of bringing about a revolution, for the king and he were filled with diſtruſt of each other. Accordingly he

he was contriving plots for Jugurtha's deſtruction both day and night; and, after revolving a variety of ſchemes in his mind, he took Nabdalſa for his aſſociate, a nobleman of great riches and highly beloved by his countrymen, who uſed to command an army apart from the king, and manage all ſuch affairs, as Jugurtha, when fatigued with others, or engaged in thoſe of greater moment, could not diſpatch himſelf; by which means he acquired great glory and wealth.

A day was agreed upon by theſe two for the execution of the plot, and all other meaſures were left to be regulated as occaſion ſhould require: upon which Nabdalſa went to the army, which, agreeably to the king's orders, he kept in the neighbourhood of our winter quarters, in order to prevent our ravaging the country with impunity. But being afterwards ſtruck with the enormity of the enterprize, and prevented by fear from coming at the time appointed, Bomilcar, who was impatient to accompliſh his deſign, and greatly concerned, leſt his aſſociate ſhould depart from his late engagements, and conſult his own ſafety by a diſcovery, ſent a letter to him by ſuch as he could confide in, wherein he upbraided him with effeminacy and want of ſpirit; called the gods, by whom he had ſworn, to witneſs; and warned him, 'not to turn the rewards offered by Metellus to his own deſtruction; 'Jugurtha's ruin was at hand; the only thing to 'be conſidered, was, whether it was to be effected 'by their bravery, or that of Metellus; he ought 'therefore to think with himſelf, which he would 'make choice of, a great recompence, or a cruel 'death.'

It happened, that Nabdalſa received this letter at a time, when being much fatigued after a great deal

of exerciſe, he was repoſing himſelf on his bed: upon reading it, he was at firſt filled with great anxiety; then, as is uſual to minds burdened with cares, ſleep ſeized him. He had in his ſervice a certain Numidian of approved fidelity, who was highly in favour, and acquainted with all his deſigns except this laſt: this man, when he heard that a letter was brought, ſuppoſing that there would be occaſion, as uſual, for his ſervice or counſel, went into his maſter's tent, and finding him aſleep, took the letter, which lay negligently behind his head on the pillow, and read it; and having diſcovered the plot, went with all poſſible haſte to the king. Nabdalſa, who waked ſoon after, miſſing his letter, and being informed by deſerters, of all that had paſſed, endeavoured at firſt to have his accuſer intercepted; but failing in that, he went directly to the king, to try to appeaſe him. He affirmed that he was prevented from making the diſcovery himſelf, by the treachery of his ſervant; and with tears in his eyes conjured him, 'by their mutual friendſhip, by his faithful paſt 'ſervices, not to ſuſpect him of ſo foul a crime.' To this the king returned a gracious anſwer, very different from what he thought; and putting Bomilcar to death, with others whom he knew to be accomplices in the plot, he ſuppreſſed his reſentment, leſt by making any more ſacrifices to his vengeance, he ſhould occaſion an inſurrection.

From this time Jugurtha enjoyed no tranquility of mind day or night; judged himſelf inſecure in every place, with every perſon, and upon every occaſion; equally diſtruſted his ſubjects and his enemies; was conſtantly upon his guard; affrighted at every noiſe; paſſed his nights one while here, another there, often in places very unſuitable to royal dignity; ſometimes ſtarted out of his ſleep in the dead of night, and ſnatching his arms, raiſed an alarm. Thus did his

his fears, like a phrenſy, continually tear and tranſport him.

Metellus, when he received intelligence by deſerters of the fate of Bomilcar, and the diſcovery of the plot, made preparations afreſh with the utmoſt vigour, as if the war had been but juſt beginning. And as Marius was conſtantly importuning him for leave to be gone, he now diſmiſſed him, thinking it improper to truſt him, as he ſerved with reluctance, and bore him perſonal enmity. At Rome too, the populace, when they learned the contents of the letters which were ſent from Africa, concerning Metellus and Marius, were well pleaſed with the accounts of both. The high quality of the general, which had hitherto been a motive for honouring him, expoſed him now to the odium of the people; whilſt the obſcurity of his lieutenant's birth recommended him to their favour: but ſtill the different parties were more influenced by their partiality, than the good or bad qualities of either. Beſides, the factious magiſtrates inflamed the multitude, by charging Metellus with capital crimes in all their harangues, and highly celebrating the merit of Marius. At length the people were ſo fired, that the mechanicks and boors, whoſe whole ſubſtance and credit was derived from their daily labour, quitting their ſeveral employments, crowded from all quarters to attend upon Marius; and were more concerned for his advancement, than for procuring the neceſſaries of life to themſelves. The nobility being thus depreſſed, the conſulſhip was beſtowed upon a new man, which had not been happened for many years before. After this, when the people were aſked by Manlius Mantinus, tribune of the people, to whom they would commit the management of the war againſt Jugurtha, they in a full aſſembly aſſigned it to Marius, which rendered abortive the decree

decree of the ſenate, that a little before had decreed Numidia to Metellus.

In the mean time Jugurtha, finding himſelf bereft of his confidants, moſt of whom indeed had been put to death by him, and the reſt apprehending the like fate had fled, ſome to the Romans, others to king Bocchus, was agitated with great perplexity of mind, and knew not what to do. He ſaw it was impoſſible to carry on the war without miniſters, and thought it dangerous to riſque the fidelity of new ones, after having met with ſo much treachery in the old; no ſcheme, no advice, no perſon could pleaſe him; he ſhifted his marches, and changed his officers every day; one while he moved towards the enemy, another towards the deſarts; oftentimes he placed all his ſecurity in flight, preſently after in arms; nor could he determine whether the fidelity or courage of his ſubjects was leaſt to be confided in: thus, which way ſoever he turned his thoughts, he found nothing but vexation and diſcouragement.

During this irreſolution, Metellus on a ſudden appeared with his army. Jugurtha improved what little time he had to draw up his men in order of battle; after which the combat begun, and which was maintained for ſome time, where the king fought in perſon, but the reſt of the army was routed and put to flight upon the firſt encounter. The Romans took all their ſtandards and arms, with a ſmall number of priſoners. The ſwiftneſs of the Numidians, indeed, in all their engagements with the Romans, was more ſerviceable to them than their arms.

After this defeat, Jugurtha having leſs hopes of ſucceſs than ever, retired with ſome deſerters, and part

part of his cavalry to the deſarts; and from thence to Thala, a great and wealthy town, where his treaſure was chiefly kept, and his children educated in a very princely manner. When Metellus was informed of this, though he knew, that between the adjoining river and the city, he had a parched wilderneſs, of fifty miles extent, to march through, yet hoping to put an end to the war by the reduction of that city, he determined to bid defiance to all difficulties, and attempted even to triumph over nature herſelf. He therefore gave orders that the uſual burdens ſhould be taken from the beaſts of carriage, and that they ſhould be laden only with corn for ten days, together with leathern bottles, and other utenſils proper for carrying of water. Beſides, he got together all the beaſts of burden he could find in the neighbouring country, and loaded them with veſſels of every kind, but moſtly of wood procured from the cottages of the Numidians. He, moreover commanded the natives of the neighbourhood, who had ſurrendered themſelves to him, after the defeat of the king, to furniſh themſelves with as much water as they could carry, and bring it to a certain place, which he appointed, fixing the time for doing it. For a ſupply to himſelf, he loaded his beaſts from the river, which, as we have already related, was the nigheſt water to the town; and thus provided he advanced towards Thala.

When he was arrived at the place, where he had ordered the Numidians to meet him, and had pitched and fortified his camp, ſuch a flood of rain is ſaid to have fallen, as would alone have been more than ſufficient for the whole army. Proviſions too were brought him in greater plenty than he expected; for the Numidians, as is uſual with thoſe who have ſubmitted to new maſters, had even brought more than was demanded of them.

The

The ſoldiers, from a principle of ſuperſtition, choſe chiefly the water which fell from the heavens; for they imagined they were the objects of the particular care of the immortal gods; and this greatly heightened their courage. The next day, contrary to Jugurtha's expectation, they arrived before Thala. The inhabitants, who imagined themſelves ſufficiently ſecured by their ſituation, were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at ſo ſtrange an event; but nevertheleſs made vigorous preparations for defending themſelves, as did our men for attacking them.

The king, thinking now that nothing was too hard for Metellus, who had by his vigour triumphed over arms, places, ſeaſons, nay, even over nature herſelf, which forces every thing elſe to ſubmit to her, fled out of the town in the night-time, with his children, and great part of his treaſure. Nor did he ever after tarry above a day or night in one place; pretending that it was buſineſs which thus hurried him, though, in reality, he was apprehenſive of treaſonable practices, which he hoped to prevent by his expedition; being perſuaded, that ſuch deſigns were only formed by leiſure and opportunity.

Metellus, finding that the inhabitants were determined to fight in their own defence, and that the city was ſtrong both by art and nature, ſurrounded it with a trench and rampart; then ordered his men to roll the moving machines to all convenient places, to raiſe mounds upon them, and towers upon the mounds, in order to defend the work and thoſe who conducted it. The beſieged did not fail to make other preparations againſt theſe, and acted with great ſpirit and vigour; nothing indeed was left unattempted on either ſide. The Romans, at length, ſpent with much toil, and many ſharp conflicts, made themſelves maſters of the bare city, after

a forty days ſiege; the whole ſpoil being deſtroyed by the deſerters. For they, as ſoon as they found the walls ſhaken by the battering-rams, and their own caſe deſperate, carried away the gold and ſilver, with whatever elſe was eſteemed valuable, to the royal palace; and there, after glutting themſelves with wine and feaſting, they committed all to the flames, the wealth, the palace, and their own lives; inflicting voluntarily upon themſelves the ſevereſt puniſhment they could have apprehended from the enemy, had they fallen into their hands.

Juſt when Thala was taken, deputies came to Metellus from Leptis, to beg of him that he would ſend them a garriſon and a governor; for that one Hamilcar, a factious nobleman, whom neither the power of the magiſtrates, nor the authority of the laws was able to reſtrain, was labouring to bring about a revolution; and that unleſs he ſent them preſent aſſiſtance, they, the allies of Rome, would be in the utmoſt danger. The people of Leptis had indeed, at the beginning of the war with Jugurtha, ſent firſt to the conſul Beſtia, and afterwards to Rome, deſiring to be admitted to friendſhip and alliance with us. From that time, their requeſt being granted, they continued our good and faithful allies, and readily complied with all the orders they received from Beſtia, Albinus, and Metellus. Wherefore they eaſily obtained from the general what they requeſted of him. Four cohorts of Ligurians were ſent thither, and C. Annius as governor.

The city of Leptis was founded by the Sidonians, who, we are told, quitted their country on account of their civil broils, and came by ſea into thoſe parts: it is ſituated between the two Syrtes, places ſo called from

from their quality. They are two bays almoſt in the extremity of Africa, of unequal bigneſs, but naturally alike; near the ſhores of which the ſea is very deep; elſewhere it is ſometimes deep, ſometimes ſhallow, juſt as the wind happens to blow. For when the ſea begins to ſwell, and to be agitated by the winds, the waves roll along with them ſlime, ſand, and ſtones of a prodigious ſize; ſo that as the wind ſhifts, the bed of the waters changes; and from this quality of dragging their channel they derive their name of Syrtes.

The inhabitants of this city have by their intermarriages with the Numidians changed their native language, but ſtill retained the greateſt part of the laws and cuſtoms of the Sidonians, which they have done the more eaſily, becauſe of their being at ſo great a diſtance from the Numidian court: for between them and ſuch parts of Numidia as are well peopled are vaſt deſarts.

Now that the affairs of Leptis have led me to diſcourſe of this country, it ſeems not improper to give an account of a famed and ſurprizing adventure of two Carthaginians: the place puts me in mind of it.

Whilſt the Carthaginians were maſters of the greateſt part of Africa, the Cyrenians too were a powerful and wealthy people. Between them there lay a vaſt ſandy plain, altogether uniform, without river or mountain to aſcertain the boundaries of their ſeveral territories; which proved the occaſion of long and bloody wars. After their fleets and armies had been often routed and put to flight on both ſides, and they had conſiderably weakened one another, apprehending leſt ſome common enemy ſhould fall upon the conquerors or conquer-

ed both equally exhauſted, they came firſt to a ceſſation of arms, then to an agreement, that each city ſhould ſend out deputies at a ſtated time, and that the place, where they met, ſhould be the common boundary of their dominions. Two brothers having the ſame name, that of Philænus, were ſent from Carthage, and travelled with great expedition. The Cyrenians advanced more ſlowly, whether from lazineſs or chance I have not been able to learn. This much is certain, that thoſe parts are ſometimes unpaſſable, being equally liable to be agitated with tempeſts, as the ſea itſelf. For when the wind blows hard in theſe vaſt and naked plains, the ſand being hurled from the earth, and driven with a mighty force, fills the mouths and eyes of travellers; and thus depriving them of their ſight, hinders them from proceeding. The Cyrenians, finding themſelves ſurpaſſed in expedition, and apprehending a ſevere puniſhment at home, for having occaſioned ſo great a loſs to their country, charged the Carthaginians with ſetting out before the limited time, made a mighty buſtle, and declared they would do any thing rather than yield. Now when the Carthaginians deſired any other method of deciding the matter that was but fair, the Cyrenians gave them their choice, 'either of being buried alive in that place, 'where they were for fixing the boundary of their 'dominions, or of ſuff ring them to proceed as far 'as they thought proper upon the ſame terms.' The Philæni, accepting the condition, ſacrificed their perſons and lives to the good of their country, and were buried alive in that very ſpot. There the Carthaginians erected altars ſacred to them, and inſtituted other ſolemnities in Carthage itſelf, to immortalize their fame. I now return to my ſubject.

Jugurtha,

Jugurtha, after the loſs of Thala, thinking nothing a ſufficient ſecurity againſt Metellus, fled, with a few attendants through vaſt deſarts, into the country of the Getulians, a brutal unpoliſhed race, and then unacquainted with the Roman name. Of theſe he got together a great number, and accuſtomed them by degrees to move in ranks, to follow their ſtandards, to obey orders, and to perform all military exerciſes. Moreover, by great preſents and greater promiſes, he gained over to his intereſt the greateſt favourites of king Bocchus; and applying to the king by their means, prevailed upon him to undertake a war againſt the Romans. This was the more eaſily effected, becauſe Bocchus was filled with reſentment againſt the Romans, for having refuſed to admit him into their friendſhip and alliance, which he had ſent ambaſſadors to Rome to deſire in the beginning of our war with Jugurtha; an alliance, extremely advantageous on ſuch an occaſion, but obſtructed by a few noblemen, who, blinded with avarice, made it their cuſtom to turn every thing into ſale, whether honourable or infamous. Beſides, Bocchus had, ſome time before, married a daughter of Jugurtha; though ſuch an alliance is little regarded among the Numidians and Moors; for all have a plurality of wives, ſome ten, others more, according to their abilities to maintain them; and their kings conſequently more than any. Amidſt ſuch a variety of women, the heart of man is diſtracted; ſo that none of them are looked upon as his companion, but all equally treated with contempt.

Accordingly the kings met with their armies at a place agreed on by both, where after pledging their faith to one another; Jugurtha ſet himſelf

to inflame the ſpirit of Bocchus, by repreſenting to him, 'that the Romans were oppreſſive, inſatiably covetous, and the common enemies of mankind; that they had the ſame cauſe for making war upon Bocchus, as upon himſelf, and ſo many other nations, namely, their luſt of dominion, which made them look upon all independent ſtates as their enemies; that at preſent they purſued him as an enemy, as they had a little before, king Perſes and the Carthaginians; and that, for the future, whatever prince appeared conſiderable for his power, would be treated by them as an enemy.'

After having ſaid this and much more to the ſame purpoſe, they reſolved upon marching to Cirta, becauſe Metellus had there lodged his booty, priſoners and baggage; whence Jugurtha thought, that he ſhould find his account abundantly, either in taking the city, or engaging the Romans, if they came to its relief. Such was the ſubtlety of the Numidian, who by this impatience for action, wanted only to prevent Bocchus from entertaining any thoughts of peace; leſt, by delays, he might chuſe ſomething very different from war.

Metellus, when he received intelligence of the confederacy of the kings, was more circumſpect than when he had only to do with Jugurtha, whom he had ſo often defeated. He was not forward, as formerly, to engage the enemy upon all occaſions, but, fortifying his camp, waited for the kings not far from Cirta; thinking it better, as the Moors were a new enemy, not to fight till he was acquainted with their character, that ſo he might do it with the more advantage. In the mean time he was informed from Rome, that the province of Numidia was aſſigned to Marius, for of his being ad-

vanced to the conſulſhip he had heard before. This news mortified him extremely, and tranſported him beyond all the rules of decency or dignity; inſomuch that he could neither refrain from tears, nor moderate his tongue. For tho' he was a man otherwiſe eminently diſtinguiſhed for every noble quality, he wanted ſtrength of mind to bear up under vexation and grief. Some imputed this weakneſs to pride; others, to a worthy ſpirit provoked by bad uſage: many to a deep concern, that the victory, already gained, ſhould be ſnatched out of his hands. As for me, I have the greateſt reaſon to believe, that the advancement of Marius gave him more uneaſineſs than his own wrongs, and that he would have quitted his province with leſs regret, if it had been beſtowed upon any other than Marius.

Not concerning himſelf therefore any further in the war thro' indignation, and thinking it folly to take care of the intereſt of another at his own hazard, he diſpatched deputies to king Bocchus, to admoniſh him, 'not to become an enemy to the Roman people without any provocation: that he had now a fine opportunity of entering into friendſhip and alliance with them, which ought greatly to be perferred by him to war. What confidence ſoever he placed in his own ſtrength, that ſtill he ought not to exchange certainties for uncertainties: that it was an eaſy matter to begin a war, but extremely difficult to conclude it; that it was not in the power of the ſame perſon to undertake and to terminate it: that the conqueror could only drop it, though even a coward might ſtir it up: that he ſhould therefore conſult his own intereſt and that of his kingdom, and not blend his own flouriſhing circumſtances with the deſperate fortune of Jugurtha.' To this the

king replied courteouſly, 'that he too deſired peace, 'but pitied Jugurtha; if he were to be included in 'it, they ſhould ſoon agree.' Again the Roman general ſent deputies with an anſwer to the demands of Bocchus, who was ſatisfied with ſome particulars, and rejected others. Thus, by ſending and returning deputies, the time was ſpun out, and the war protracted, agreeably to Metellus's deſire, without any hoſtilities.

Marius, who had been created conſul by the people, with all the proofs of the warmeſt zeal for his intereſt, as we have above related, when he was likewiſe made governor of Numidia by them, behaved towards the nobility, againſt whom he was before highly exaſperated, with more fury and inſolence than ever; ſometimes he inſulted particular perſons; ſometimes the whole body. He was continually boaſting that he had wreſted the conſulſhip from them like ſpoils from a vanquiſhed enemy, with many things of the like nature, all to extol himſelf and mortify them. In the mean time, his principal care was to provide every thing neceſſary for the war; he demanded recruits for the legions; and ſent for auxiliaries from foreign ſtates, kings, and allies. He, moreover, ſummoned from Latium all the braveſt men, moſt of whom he himſelf knew by their having ſerved with him, ſo that there were but few, whoſe characters he had learned from common fame; and even, by the force of perſuaſion, prevailed upon the diſcharged veterans to go along with him. Nor durſt the ſenate, though his avowed enemies, deny him any thing, nay they even chearfully decreed him recruits; becauſe they imagined the populace would be averſe to inliſt, and ſo Marius would either not be able to purſue the war, or loſe the affections of the people. But herein they were diſappointed; ſo

eager

eager a deſire of going with Marius had ſeized moſt of them. Every man flattered himſelf to return crowned with victory, and enriched with ſpoil, with the like pleaſing thoughts. Marius indeed, had by a ſpeech of his, not a little contributed to raiſe their expectations; for, after all he deſired had been granted him, reſolving to raiſe recruits, he called an aſſembly of the people, both to encourage them to follow him, and to inveigh againſt the nobility, as he was wont; he then harangued them in the following manner.

'I know, Romans, that moſt of thoſe who apply to you for preferment in the ſtate, aſſume a different conduct from what they obſerve, after they have obtained it. When they are candidates, they are active, condeſcending, and modeſt; when magiſtrates, haughty and indolent: but to me the contrary conduct appears reaſonable. For, in proportion as the good of the ſtate is of more importance than the conſulſhip or prætorſhip, the greater care and attention is requiſite to govern the commonwealth, than to court its dignities. I am very ſenſible what an arduous taſk is impoſed upon me by your generous choice of me; to make preparations for the war, and yet to be ſparing of the treaſury; to oblige thoſe to ſerve, whom you would not willingly offend; to attend to every thing both at home and abroad; and to perform all this amidſt a confederacy of envious men, eternally obſtructing your meaſures, and caballing againſt you, is, O Romans, a more difficult undertaking than can eaſily be imagined. Moreover, if others fail in the diſcharge of their duty, the antient luſtre of their family, the heroic actions of their anceſtors, the credit of their kindred and friends, and their numerous dependants afford them protection. As for me, I have

'have no hopes but in myſelf; my firmneſs and 'integrity alone muſt protect me, every other ſup-'port would be of little avail. I am well aware 'too, Romans, that the eyes of all are upon me; 'that all honeſt, all candid men, pleaſed with 'my ſucceſsful endeavours to ſerve the ſtate, wiſh 'well to me; but that the nobility watch for an 'opportunity to ruin me. Whence I muſt labour 'the more ſtrenuouſly that you be not enſnared 'by them, and that they be diſappointed. 'From my childhood to this preſent time, my man-'ner of life has been ſuch, that toils and dangers 'are now habitual to me. The courſe I purſued, 'Romans, merely from a diſintereſted principle, be-'fore you conferred any favours upon me, I ſhall 'be far from diſcontinuing, now you have beſtow-'ed ſo noble a recompence. Thoſe who put on 'the deceitful guiſe and ſemblance of virtue, to 'obtain power, muſt, when poſſeſſed of it, find it 'difficult to act with moderation; but to me whoſe 'whole life has been an uninterrupted ſeries of laud-'able purſuits, virtue, through the force of habit, is 'become natural.

'You have ordained that I ſhould have the ma-'nagement of the war againſt Jugurtha; an ordi-'nance highly diſpleaſing to the nobility. Now, 'pray conſider with yourſelves, whether you had 'not better alter your choice, and employ upon 'this, or any other like occaſion, one of the tribe 'of the nobility, a man of an ancient family, ſur-'rounded with the images of his anceſtors, and 'who has never been in the ſervice: ſee how, 'upon ſuch an important occaſion, he will hurry 'and be confounded, and, ignorant of the whole 'of his duty, apply to ſome plebeian to inſtruct 'him in it. And thus it commonly happens, that 'he, whom you have appointed your general, is

obliged

'obliged to find another, from whom to receive
'his orders. I myſelf, Romans, know ſome, who,
'after they were made conſuls, began to read the
'hiſtory of our anceſtors, and the military precepts
'of the Greeks. Prepoſterous method! For
'though, in the order of time, the election to
'offices precedes the exerciſe of them, yet, in
'the order of things, qualifications and experience
'ſhould precede election.

'Compare me now, Romans, who am but a new man,
'with theſe haughty nobles. What they only read
'or hear of, I have ſeen performed, or performed
'myſelf: what they have gathered from books, I
'have learned in the ſervice. Now do you your-
'ſelves judge, whether practice or ſpeculation are
'of greateſt value. They deſpiſe me for the mean-
'neſs of my deſcent; I them for their indolence:
'I am upbraided with my fortune, they with their
'crimes. I am of opinion, that nature is always
'the ſame, and common to all; and that thoſe who
'have moſt virtue, have moſt nobility. Suppoſe
'it were poſſible to put the queſtion to the fathers
'of Albinus or Beſtia, whether they would rather
'have choſen me for their deſcendant, or them?
'What anſwer do you think they would make,
'but that they ſhould have deſired to have had the
'moſt deſerving men for their ſons? but if they
'have reaſon to deſpiſe me, they have the ſame to
'deſpiſe their anceſtors, whoſe nobility, like mine,
'took its riſe from their military virtue. They envy
'my advancement, let them likewiſe envy my toils,
'my integrity, my dangers, for by theſe I gained
'it. Theſe men, in truth, blinded with pride,
'live in ſuch manner as if they ſlighted the ho-
'nour you have to beſtow, and yet ſue for them
'as if they had deſerved them. Deluded men! to
'aſpire at once after two things ſo oppoſite in their
natures;

'natures; the enjoyment of the pleaſures of effe-
'minacy, and the fruits of a laborious virtue.
'When they harangue too before you, or in the
'ſenate, they employ the greateſt part of their
'eloquence in celebrating their anceſtors, and
'vainly imagine that their exploits reflect a luſtre
'on themſelves: whereas it is quite the reverſe;
'for the more illuſtrious their lives were, the more
'ſcandalous is the ſpiritleſs and unmanly beha-
'viour of theſe their deſcendants. The truth of
'the matter is plainly this; the glory acquired by
'anceſtors, is like a light diffuſed over the actions
'of their poſterity, which neither ſuffers their
'good or bad qualities to be concealed. This
'light, Romans, is what I want; but what is
'much more noble, I can relate my own atchieve-
'ments.

'See only how unreaſonable they are? What
'they arrogantly claim to themſelves for the ex-
'ploits of others, that they deny me for my own:
'and what reaſon do they give for it? why truly
'this, becauſe I have no images of my anceſtors
'to ſhew, and my nobility is no older than myſelf,
'which certainly, it is more honourable for one
'to acquire himſelf, than to debaſe that which he
'derives from his anceſtors.

'I am very ſenſible, that if they had a mind
'to reply to what I now advance, they would do
'it with great eloquence and accuracy. Yet, as
'they have given a looſe to their calumniating
'tongues upon every occaſion, not only againſt me,
'but likewiſe againſt you, ever ſince you have
'conferred this dignity upon me, I was reſolved to
'ſpeak, leſt ſome ſhould impute my ſilence to a
'conſciouſneſs of my own guilt.

'Though

'Though I am abundantly ſatisfied, that no 'ſpeech whatever can hurt me; ſince, if what is 'ſaid be true, it muſt be to my honour; if falſe, 'my life and conduct will confute it. But becauſe 'your determination is blamed, in beſtowing upon 'me the higheſt dignity of the ſtate, and truſting 'me with the conduct of affairs of ſuch importance; 'conſider again and again, whether you had not 'better alter your choice. I cannot, indeed, 'boaſt of the images, triumphs, or conſulſhips of 'my anceſtors, to raiſe your confidence in me; 'but, if it is neceſſary, I can ſhew you ſpears, 'ſtandards, collars, and other military preſents 'in great plenty, beſides ſcars of wounds, all re-'ceived before. Theſe are my ſtatues; theſe the 'proofs of my nobility, not derived from anceſtors, 'as theirs are, but ſuch as I have myſelf acquired by 'many toils and dangers.

'My language too is unpoliſhed; but that gives 'me ſmall concern: virtue ſhews itſelf with ſuf-'ficient clearneſs. They ſtand in need of the art-'ful colourings of eloquence, to hide the infamy 'of their actions. Nor have I been inſtructed 'in the Grecian literature; why truly I had little 'inclination to that kind of inſtruction, which did 'not improve the authors of it in the leaſt degree 'of virtue. But I have learned other things far 'more uſeful to the ſtate; to wound the enemy; 'to watch; to dread nothing but infamy; equally 'to undergo cold and heat; to lie upon the bare 'ground; and endure at the ſame time hunger 'and fatigue. Theſe leſſons ſhall animate my 'troops; nor ſhall I ever be rigorous to them, 'and indulgent to myſelf; or borrow my glory 'from their toils. This is the manner of com-'manding that is uſeful to the ſtate; this is what

'ſuits

'ſuits the equality of citizens. For to treat the 'army with ſeverity, whilſt you indulge yourſelf 'in eaſe and pleaſure, is to act the tyrant, not 'the general. By a conduct like this, your an-'ceſtors gained immortal honour both to them-'ſelves and the republick; which our nobility, tho' 'ſo unlike them in their character, relying upon, 'deſpiſe us who imitate them: and demand of 'you all public honours, not on account of their 'perſonal merit, but as due to their high rank: 'arrogant men! but widely miſtaken. Their an-'ceſtors left them every thing in their power to 'leave them; their wealth, their images, their 'high renown; but their virtue they did not leave 'them, nor indeed could they; for it can neither 'be given, nor received as a gift.

'They call me an unpoliſhed ill-bred fellow, be-'cauſe I cannot entertain elegantly; have no buf-'foon; and pay no higher wages to my cook than 'to my ſteward; every part of which charge, Ro-'mans, I readily own. For I have learned from 'my father, and other venerable perſons, that 'delicacy belongs to women; labour to men; that 'a virtuous man ought to have a larger ſhare of 'glory than riches; and that arms are more or-'namental than ſplendid furniture.

'But let them ſtill purſue what is ſo dear and 'delightful to them; let them indulge to wine 'and women; let them ſpend their old-age, as they 'did their youth, in banqueting, and the loweſt 'ſenſual gratifications; let them leave ſweat and 'duſt, and other ſuch things to us, to whom they 'are more agreeable than the moſt elegant en-'tertainments. But even this they will not do, 'for after having debaſed themſelves by the prac-'tice of the fouleſt and moſt infamous vices, theſe

'moſt

‘ moſt deteſtable of all men endeavour to deprive
‘ the brave of the rewards that are due to them.
‘ Thus, by the greateſt injuſtice, luxury and
‘ idleneſs, the moſt miſchievous vices, are no ways
‘ prejudical to thoſe who are guilty of them; at
‘ the ſame time that they threaten the innocent
‘ commonwealth with ruin.

‘ Now ſince I have anſwered theſe men, as far as
‘ my own character was concerned, though not ſo
‘ fully, as their infamous behaviour deſerved; I ſhall
‘ add a few words concerning the ſtate of public affairs.
‘ And firſt of all, Romans, be of good courage as
‘ to Numidia; ſince you have now removed all
‘ that hitherto ſecured Jugurtha, namely, the co-
‘ vetouſneſs, incapacity, and haughtineſs of our
‘ commanders. There is an army there likewiſe, well
‘ acquainted with the country, but indeed more brave
‘ than fortunate; for a great part of it has been
‘ deſtroyed by the rapaciouſneſs and raſhneſs of its
‘ commanders. Do you, therefore, who are of
‘ age to bear arms, join your efforts to mine, and
‘ aſſume the defence of the commonwealth, nor let
‘ the fate of others, or the haughtineſs of the late
‘ commanders diſcourage any of you: when you
‘ march, when you engage, I will always be with
‘ you, to direct you how to act, and to ſhare every
‘ danger with you. In a word, I ſhall deſire you
‘ to act no otherwiſe in any inſtance, than as you
‘ ſee me do. Moreover, all things are now ripe
‘ for us, victory, ſpoil, and glory; and tho' they
‘ were uncertain, or at a diſtance, it would ſtill
‘ be the duty of every good citizen, to aſſiſt the
‘ ſtate. For no man ever became immortal by
‘ inactivity; nor did ever any father wiſh his chil-
‘ dren might never die, but rather that they might
‘ live like uſeful and worthy men. I ſhould add
‘ more to what I have already ſaid, if words

‘ could

'could inſpire cowards with bravery; for to the 'valiant, I think I have ſaid enough.'

Marius, upon delivering the ſpeech, finding the minds of the people animated, ordered proviſions, money, and other neceſſaries for the war, to be embarked with all expedition; and ſent his lieutenant A. Manlius along with them. In the mean time he himſelf was employed in levying troops, accepting all who were inclined to go, without obſerving the antient method of inrolling thoſe of certain claſſes only. The greateſt part of them conſiſted of ſuch, as were, upon account of their poverty, exempted from bearing arms: which conduct of his ſome imputed to the ſcarcity of better men, others to a deſign of making his court to the rabble, to whom he firſt owed his reputation, and then his advancement. Add to this, that to one who aims at power, the moſt needy are the propereſt aſſiſtants; ſince they have no property to be ſolicitous about, and think every thing honourable that is gainful. Marius, ſetting ſail for Africa, with a number of troops ſomewhat greater than had been decreed him, in a few days arrived at Utica. There the army was delivered up to him by P. Rutilius, lieutenant-general to Metellus; for Metellus avoided the ſight of Marius, that he might not behold, what he never could bear to hear.

The conſul, having completed his legions and auxiliary cohorts, marched into a fertile country, abounding in plunder: where, whatever he took, he beſtowed upon the ſoldiers. Then he aſſailed ſuch fortreſſes and towns, as were not very ſtrong by nature, nor well garriſoned; and had frequent ſkirmiſhes in different places. In the mean time the new-raiſed ſoldiers learned to join in an encounter

counter without fear; they ſaw that ſuch as fled were either taken or ſlain; that the braveſt were the moſt ſecure; that by arms, our liberty, our country, our parents, and every thing elſe were protected, and glory and riches acquired. Thus, in a ſhort time, the new men matched the veterans, and the bravery of both became equal.

The two kings, as ſoon as they had notice of the arrival of Marius, retired each into places of difficult acceſs. This was the contrivance of Jugurtha, who, by this means, hoped that the enemy would diſperſe, and ſo afford him an opportunity of falling upon them; ſuppoſing that the Romans would, like moſt others, become more remiſs and licentious, when their fears were removed.

Metellus, in the mean time, upon his return to Rome, was received, contrary to his expectations, with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy and affection; being equally dear to the commons and ſenate, now that the popular odium had ſubſided. As for Marius, he ſhewed great activity and prudence, in obſerving the enemy's meaſures, and purſuing his own; in conſidering what might tend to promote or obſtruct either; informing himſelf of the ſeparate marches of the two kings; and preventing all their machinations. He ſuffered no remiſſneſs in his own army, nor reſt nor ſecurity in thoſe of the kings; inſomuch that, having frequently attacked both the Getulians and Jugurtha, as they were carrying off the plunder of our allies, he always routed them; and even forced the king himſelf, not far from Cirta, to caſt away his arms and fly. But when he conſidered that all this was only matter of empty ſhew and applauſe, without producing any thing deciſive; he reſolved to inveſt all the cities that by the ſtrength of their garriſons, or ſitua-

tion, gave the enemy the greateſt advantage againſt us; as Jugurtha would, thus, be ſtripped of all his ſtrong holds, if he ſuffered them to be taken, or be brought to an engagement. For Bocchus had frequently ſent deputies to him, to ſignify his deſire of the Roman friendſhip, and that no hoſtilities were to be apprehended from him. But whether this was only pretence, that he might fall upon us unawares with the greater ſucceſs; or whether it proceeded from the inconſtancy of his temper, one while prompting him to war, another to peace, I have not been able to diſcover.

The conſul, in purſuance of his deſign, advanced againſt the ſtrong towns and forts, ſome of which he took by aſſault, and others he gained over to him by threats or promiſes. At firſt indeed he attempted only ſmall towns, thinking that Jugurtha, in order to protect his ſubjects, would come to a battle: but finding that he kept at a diſtance, and was employed in other affairs, he thought it was time to enter upon greater and more difficult enterprizes.

There ſtood, in the midſt of vaſt deſarts, a large and ſtrong city, called Capſa, ſaid to have been founded by the Libyan Hercules. The citizens, by reaſon of the many immunities they enjoyed under Jugurtha, who exerciſed a gentle government over them, were thought to be faithfully devoted to him. They were ſecured againſt their enemies, not only by good fortifications, numbers of men and magazines of arms, but much more by the difficulty of approaching them: for the whole country round, except the fields adjoining to the town, was barren and uncultivated, without water, and infeſted with ſerpents; whoſe rage, like that of other wild beaſts, is heightened by famine, and

who

who, though naturally miſchievous, are ſtill more ſo, when they are inflamed by thirſt. Marius had an ardent deſire to maſter this place, not only on account of its importance for the purpoſes of war, but becauſe of the difficulty of the undertaking: as an additional motive, too, Metellus had acquired great glory by taking Thala, a town that much reſembled it in ſtrength and ſituation, except that at Thala, there were ſeveral ſprings not far from the town; whereas the inhabitants of Capſa had only one, and that within the city, without any other ſupply of water but from the heavens. This people, as well as the other inhabitants of Africa, who lived at a diſtance from the ſea, and in a ruſtic manner, the more eaſily ſupported this ſcarcity of water, becauſe the Numidians live moſtly upon milk and veniſon, without the uſe of ſalt, or, indeed, any other incentive to appetite: the ſole purpoſe of eating and drinking among them is to ſatisfy the neceſſary demands of nature, and not to gratify luxury and intemperance.

The conſul took all poſſible precautions in this undertaking, but relied, I am apt to think, upon the gods, for ſucceſs; as human prudence could not ſufficiently provide againſt ſo great difficulties. To his other diſcouragements was added ſcarcity of corn, the Numidians applying themſelves more to grazing than tillage: beſides, what grain there was, had been carried off, by the king's orders, into fortified places; and, as it was the end of ſummer, the ground was parched and produced nothing. He acted, however, conſidering his condition, with great prudence and foreſight. The cattle he had taken ſome days before, he committed to the auxiliary cavalry to conduct; and ordered his lieutenant A. Manlius to march with the light cohorts to the city Laris, where he had

placed his proviſions and military cheſt; telling him, that he was going in purſuit of plunder, and would join him in a few days. Thus concealing his deſign, he marched directly to the river Tana.

In his march, he every day diſtributed cattle among the companies of foot, and troops of horſe in equal proportion; and took care to have bottles made of their hides: thus he at once made the want of corn leſs ſenſibly felt, and provided ſuch utenſils as were ſoon to be come neceſſary, whilſt all were ignorant of his intentions. After ſix days march, they arrived at the river, and had already made a great number of bottles. Having pitched his camp there, and fortified it ſlightly, he ordered his men to refreſh themſelves, that they might be ready to march at ſun-ſet: and likewiſe to lay aſide all their baggage, and load themſelves, and their beaſts of burden, only with water. At the time appointed he decamped, and, marching the whole night, encamped again in the morning. The ſame he did the next night; and the third, long before dawn, he came to a place full of ſmall hills, about two miles from Capſa, where he paſſed the remaining part of the night, concealing his forces with the greateſt poſſible care. But as ſoon as day appeared, and the Numidians, being under no apprehenſions of an enemy, had many of them left the town; he inſtantly ordered all his horſe with the nimbleſt of his foot, to fly to Capſa and ſecure the gates. He himſelf followed with great diſpatch, not ſuffering any of his men to ſtray for plunder. When the inhabitants found this; the great conſternation wherewith they were ſeized, the unexpected calamity that befel them, and the conſideration that many of their fellow-citizens were without the walls in the hands of the enemy, forced them to ſurrender. Their city, however, was

was burnt; the youth put to the ſword; all the reſt ſold; and the plunder given to the ſoldiers. This ſevere courſe, contrary to the laws of war, was not occaſioned by the avarice or cruelty of the conſul; but was taken, becauſe the place was very advantageous to Jugurtha, and of difficult acceſs to us; the citizens an inconſtant perfidious race, not to be curbed by favours or terrors.

After Marius had executed ſo bold an enterprize without any detriment to his men, his name, which was indeed great and renowned before, became now much more ſo. All his actions, even thoſe that were too forward, were looked upon as the effects of ſuperior abilities; the ſoldiers, being under a gentle command, and withal enriched by him, extolled him to the ſkies: the Numidians dreaded him as more than mortal: in ſhort, both allies and enemies believed he had either the ſpirit of a deity, or that the gods aſſiſted him in all things.

After this ſucceſs, the conſul advanced againſt other towns; in taking ſome of which he met with oppoſition from the Numidians; but moſt of them were deſerted by their inhabitants, who dreaded the tragical fate of Capſa; and theſe he burned to the ground. Thus all parts were filled with lamentations and ſlaughter. At laſt, having made himſelf maſter of many places, and moſt of them without loſs of blood, he engaged in another enterprize, not ſo hazardous as that of Capſa, but equally difficult.

Not far from the river of Mulucha, which ſeparated the kingdoms of Jugurtha and Bocchus, there ſtood, in the midſt of a plain, a ſmall fort, upon a rock of conſiderable breadth at top, and prodigiouſly high; naturally as ſteep on every ſide as art or

labour could have made it, except one part very ſtrait. As the king's treaſure was kept in this place; Marius exerted his utmoſt efforts to take it, and ſucceeded more by chance than prudent management. For the caſtle was abundantly provided with men, arms, proviſions, and a ſpring of water; its ſituation rendered it impoſſible to make uſe of mounds and turrets, and all the machinery of a ſiege; the way to it was very narrow, with a precipice on each ſide; the moving galleries were puſhed againſt it with great danger, and to no purpoſe; for when they advanced but ever ſo little, they were deſtroyed by fire or great ſtones. The ſoldiers could neither ſtand firmly to advance their works, for the ſteepneſs of the rock; nor make uſe of their batteries, without expoſing themſelves to great danger. The braveſt of them were either ſlain or wounded, and the reſt greatly diſcouraged.

Now Marius, having thus ſpent many toilſom days, debated with himſelf, whether he ſhould abandon his enterprize, as it proved unſucceſsful, or wait the interpoſition of fortune, which had been ſo often favourable to him. Whilſt he was under this ſore perplexity for ſeveral days and nights together, a Ligurian, a common ſoldier of the auxiliary cohorts, going out of the camp in ſearch of water, happened to obſerve, not far from the ſide of the caſtle oppoſite to that where the attack was made, ſome ſnails crawling among the rocks; of which gathering one, then another, and ſtill climbing to procure more, he was got inſenſibly almoſt to the top of the mountain. Where, perceiving every thing quiet, the natural deſire of ſeeing unknown objects, prompted him to proceed. It happened, that there grew, in that very place, a great oak, out of the ſide of the rock, which, bending

bending downward a little near the the root, then taking a turn, mounted upward; as all trees naturally do.

The Ligurian, one while laying hold of the branches of this tree, another of the prominences of the rock, got ſo high at laſt as to be able to ſurvey the whole plan of the caſtle, without being diſturbed by the Numidians, who were all engaged on that ſide where the attack was made. After he had carefully examined whatever he thought would be of uſe to him in the execution of his deſign, he returned the ſame way, not haſtily, as he went up, but pauſing at every ſtep, and obſerving every thing with the utmoſt care. He then haſtened to Marius, informed him of what he had done, preſſed him to make an attempt upon the caſtle, on that ſide, where he himſelf had mounted, and promiſed that he would lead the way and be the firſt to face the danger. Marius ſent ſome of thoſe who attended him along with the Ligurian to examine into the propoſal; who according to their different judgments, reported that the undertaking was eaſy or difficult. The conſul, however, took courage upon it, and determined to make the attempt the next day; appointing for that purpoſe a guard of four centurions with their companies, and five trumpeters, the nimbleſt he could find, ordering them all to follow the directions of the Ligurian, who, when the time was come, and every thing provided and put in order, advanced to the place.

The centurions, according to the inſtructions which they had received from their guide, had changed their arms and dreſs, and marched with their head and feet bare, that they might have the freer proſpect, and climb more eaſily. They had

their ſwords over their ſhoulders, and their bucklers too, which were of the Numidian kind, and made of leather, both for lightneſs, and that they might not ſound if they happened to daſh againſt the rock. The Ligurian, leading the way, tied cords about the ſtones, and ſuch old roots of trees, as appeared here and there, to aſſiſt the ſoldiers in climbing; lending his hand, from time to time, to ſuch as were diſcouraged at ſo rugged a march. When the aſcent was ſteeper than ordinary, he ſent them up before him unarmed, and then followed himſelf with their arms. What appeared extremely difficult and threatning even to their beſt endeavours, he tried; and, by aſcending and deſcending ſeveral times, encouraged the reſt to follow him, and then retired to make way for them. At length, after much tedious labour, they gained the caſtle, which was quite naked on that ſide, the enemy being all engaged, as at other times, in the oppoſite quarter. When Marius was informed of the ſucceſs of the Ligurian, though he had kept the Numidians employed all day long by a continued attack, yet now encouraging the ſoldiers, he ſallied out of his galleries, and drawing up his men into the form of a ſhell, advanced againſt the caſtle. At the ſame time too, in order to terrify the enemy, he plied them hard with engines, archers, and ſlingers, at a diſtance. The Numidians, who had often before broke to pieces, and even burnt the Roman galleries, did not now defend themſelves within their battlements, but ſpent whole days and nights without their walls, railing at the Romans, and charging Marius with madneſs. They threatned our men with being made ſlaves to Jugurtha, and were, indeed, extremely inſolent, on account of their ſucceſs.

Whilſt

While both ſides were warmly engaged in a vigorous ſtruggle, for glory and empire on the one hand, and life and liberty on the other; the trumpets on a ſudden ſounded in the enemies rear. Upon which the women and children, who had come out to ſee the engagement, fled: after them ſuch as were next the walls, and at laſt all armed and unarmed. The Romans upon this preſſed onward with greater vigour, overthrowing the enemy, and only wounding moſt of them; then going over the heaps of ſlain, they flew to the walls, all thirſting for glory and ſtriving each to get before the other, not one perſon ſtopping for plunder. Thus accidental ſucceſs juſtified the raſhneſs of Marius, and even his imprudence contributed to heighten his glory.

During this tranſaction, L. Sylla the quæſtor arrived in the camp with a great body of horſe, having been left at Rome by Marius, to raiſe them in Latium, and among our allies. And here as this circumſtance has led me to make mention of ſo extraordinary a man, I thought it would not be improper to give ſome account of his genius and character: eſpecially, as I do not deſign to ſpeak of him elſewhere, and as L. Siſena, the beſt and moſt accurate of all thoſe who have given us his hiſtory, appears to me not to have ſpoken of him with ſo much freedom as he ſhould have done.

Sylla was deſcended from an eminent patrician family; but its luſtre was almoſt quite obſcured by the degeneracy of his late anceſtors. He was perfect maſter of the learning both of Greece and Rome; of a great ſpirit; fond of pleaſures but fonder

fonder of glory; when buſineſs did not call him, he indulged to luxury, but never ſuffered his buſineſs to be hindered by it, unleſs in the caſe of his divorce, in which he ought to have acted in a more honourable manner. He was eloquent, artful, eaſy and obliging in his friendſhips; of vaſt reach in diſguiſing his deſigns; liberal of every thing, eſpecially of his money. He was indeed, the happieſt of all men, before his ſucceſs in the civil wars; yet his fortune never ſurpaſſed his merit, ſo that many have made it a queſtion, whether he were more brave or more fortunate. As to his behaviour after the civil war, I know not how it is to be recounted, whether with greater ſhame or horror.

When Sylla, as we have already related was come into Africa, and had joined Marius in his camp, tho' he was before raw and ignorant in the art of war, yet in a ſhort time he became a very able warrior. He was, moreover, very affable to the ſoldiers; granted favours to many upon their aſking them, and to many without aſking; was backward to receive benefits himſelf, but more forward to repay them than if they had been a debt of money; would never have any returns for what favours he beſtowed, but rather aimed at bringing as many as poſſible under obligations to him. He often entered into converſation with the common men, talking ſometimes jocoſely, ſometimes ſeriouſly; was with them upon every occaſion, in their marches, in their works, and in their watchings; nor did he, in the mean time, wound the character of the conſul, or any other worthy perſon, according to the baſe practice of thoſe who are actuated by ambition; ſtriving aſſiduouſly to ſuffer none to ſurpaſs him in counſel or action, in both which he almoſt excelled all others. By this conduct and theſe qualifications, he was, in

a ſhort time, greatly beloved by Marius and the whole army.

Now, Jugurtha, after he had loſt Capſa, and other ſtrong and important places, with a great deal of money beſides, ſent meſſengers to Bocchus, to preſs him to haſten his march into Numidia; for that this was a proper time to give the enemy battle. But finding him irreſolute, and weighing the motives for peace and thoſe for war; he gained over his confidents by money, as he had formerly done; nay, and promiſed the Moor himſelf the third part of Numidia, upon condition, that the Romans were either driven out of Africa, or he recovered his whole dominions by a treaty of peace. Bocchus, tempted with ſuch an offer, marched immediately to Jugurtha. When both armies were joined, they fell upon Marius, as he was going into winter quarters, towards the cloſe of the evening: perſuading themſelves, that, in caſe of a defeat, the night would ſecure them, and, if they proved victorious, it would be no diſadvantage to them, ſince they were ſo well acquainted with the country: whereas the darkneſs muſt diſtreſs the Romans, whatever were the event.

The enemy was already in full view, juſt as the conſul was receiving manifold information of their approach; and before the army could be formed or the baggage drawn together, nay, before the ſignal, or any orders, could be given, the Mooriſh and Getulian horſe poured upon them; not in due order, or any regular method of engaging, but in ſcattered parties, juſt as chance huddled them together. Our men, tho' alarmed with ſo unexpected an onſet, yet mindful of their former bravery, boldly graſped their arms, all ready to encounter the enemy, or defend thoſe that were yet unarmed.

Some

Some of them mounted their horſes, and advanced againſt the foe. The whole action had more the reſemblance of a fray of robbers, than of a regular battle; horſe and foot were jumbled together, without ſtandards, or ranks; ſome were cut to pieces, others were mangled; many, whilſt they were engaging the foe vigorouſly in front, were themſelves attacked in rear; neither courage nor arms were a ſufficient ſecurity: for the enemy being far more numerous ſurrounded us on all ſides. At laſt, our men, in whatever place they happened to meet in parties, both the veterans and new raiſed ſoldiers (for they too had learned war by practice and example) threw themſelves into circular bodies; and thus having a front every way, they ſuſtained the ſhock of the enemy.

In this diſtreſsful ſituation, Marius was not in the leaſt daunted, nor his courage more ſunk, than on former occaſions; but, with his own troop, which he had filled up with men of the greateſt bravery, without any regard to perſonal friendſhip in the choice of them, flew about to every quarter, one while ſuccouring his own men in diſtreſs, another charging the thickeſt of the enemy in perſon; and by uſing his ſword did all the ſervice he could to his troops, ſince it was impoſſible for him to act the part of a general amidſt ſo great confuſion. By this time, the day was quite ſpent, without the barbarians abating any thing of their fury; nay, agreeably to the orders of the kings, who thought the darkneſs an advantage to them, they charged with greater ardor than before. Whereupon Marius, as the beſt meaſure his circumſtances would admit of, in order to ſecure a place of refuge for his army, reſolved to take poſſeſſion of two hills near each other; in one of which, tho' not large enough to encamp on, there was a plentiful

tiful ſpring of water: the other was very proper for a camp, becauſe it was very high and ſteep, and required but little fortification. He ordered Sylla to paſs the night by the ſpring, with his cavalry: he himſelf having by degrees drawn together his ſcattered troops, the enemy being ſtill in no leſs confuſion, went ſtrait with them to the other hill. The kings, being thus diſcouraged, by the difficulty of the aſcent, from making any further attack, did not however ſuffer their forces to retire, but, beſetting both hills, pitched all round them with their diſorderly multitudes. Then the Barbarians, kindling many fires, paſſed moſt of the night in mirth and jollity, bounded to and fro, and ſhouted terribly after their uſual manner. Their leaders, too, were highly elated, and behaved like conquerors, becauſe they had not been obliged to fly. All this was eaſily perceived by the Romans in the dark, being ſituated upon the upper ground, and gave them no ſmall encouragement. Marius's confidence being increaſed by the unſkilful conduct of the enemy, he ordered a profound ſilence to be kept, not even ſuffering the trumpets to ſound, as uſual, when the guard was changed. As ſoon as day appeared, when the enemy were now weary, and juſt fallen aſleep, he directed all the trumpets, both of horſe and foot, throughout the army, to ſound at once, and the ſoldiers to pour down upon the enemy with a terrible ſhout.

The Moors and Getulians, being ſuddenly rouſed by ſo horrid and unuſual a noiſe, could neither fly nor take arms, and were utterly incapable to act or contrive any thing for their own ſecurity; to ſuch a degree, that being ſtunned with the noiſe and frightful ſhouts, ſeverely preſſed by our men, without receiving any aſſiſtance from their own

own leaders, they ſunk like men ſtupified under this tumult, terror, and amazement. In ſhort, they received a total overthrow, moſt of their arms and military ſtandards were taken, and more were killed in that battle than all the former; for ſleep and extraordinary ſurprize had prevented their flight.

Marius now purſued his march into his winter quarters, which he determined to fix in the maritime towns, for the ſake of proviſions. In the mean time his late victory made him neither remiſs nor imperious; but, as if the enemy had been in view, he marched with his army in form of a ſquare. Sylla commanded the cavalry on the right; A Manlius, with the ſlingers and archers, as alſo the Ligurian cohorts, on the left: in the front and rear he poſted the tribunes with the light armed foot. The deſerters, being of ſmall account, were employed to obſerve the motions of the enemy, as they were perfectly well acquainted with the country. Beſides, the conſul, as if he had committed no ſhare of the command to any other, carefully attended to every thing himſelf, went to every quarter, extolling ſome, reprimanding others, juſt as they deſerved it; and as he was conſtantly armed and ready for action himſelf, he obliged the ſoldiers to be ſo too. Nor was he leſs cautious in fortifying his camp, than he was in his march. He committed the guard of the gates to the cohorts of the legions, and that without the gates to the auxiliary horſe, placing others upon the lines and ramparts, and viſiting them all round in perſon: not ſo much from any diſtruſt that his orders would not be performed, as to animate his men to undergo their fatigues with the greater chearfulneſs, when they ſaw their general take an equal ſhare. And indeed, Marius, both now and

all

all the time he was employed in the war againſt Jugurtha, maintained good order in the army more by the ſhame of offending, than the fear of puniſhment: which ſome imputed to his paſſion for popularity; others alledged that being inured to hardſhips from his childhood, he took pleaſure in what others reckon the greateſt miſery. This much, however, is certain, the affairs of the ſtate were managed with as much ſucceſs and dignity, as if his command had been ever ſo rigorous.

At laſt, on the fourth day, when they were not far from Cirta, the ſcouts appeared on all ſides, advancing with great haſte: whence it was concluded that the enemy were not far off: but as they returned from different quarters, yet all with the ſame account, the conſul not knowing how to draw up his army, reſolved not to alter its diſpoſition, but waited the coming of the enemy, in the ſame order and the ſame place. This diſconcerted Jugrtha, who had divided his troops into four parts, flattering himſelf, that ſome of them muſt certainly attack the Romans in the rear with advantage. In the mean time Sylla, upon whom the enemy firſt fell, encouraging his men, charged the Moors at the head of ſome troops in as cloſe order as poſſible; the reſt, without moving from their ground, defended themſelves from the darts thrown at a diſtance, and cut to pieces all who ventured to come up to them.

During this engagement of the horſe, Bocchus attacked our rear with a body of foot brought by his ſon Volux, but which had not marched expeditiouſly enough to be preſent at the former battle. Marius was then in the front, making head againſt Jugurtha, who fought there with a numerous force. But the Numidian prince, when he heard of the arrival of Bocchus, wheeled about with

with a few attendants to our foot, and cried with a loud voice in Latin, which he learned at the ſiege of Numantia, 'that they fought to no purpoſe, for that he had ſlain Marius a little before 'with his own hand;' and at the ſame time ſhewed them his ſword dyed with the blood of one of our foot, ſlain by him in the encounter with great bravery. Our men hearing this, were more ſtruck with ſo ſhocking a report than was conſiſtent with the opinion they had of the veracity of the author of it: on the contrary, the Barbarians were inſpired with freſh courage, and with greater fury than ever, puſhed the Romans, who were diſheartened, and upon the point of betaking themſelves to flight, when Sylla, having routed thoſe he was engaged with, fell upon the Moors in their flank; whereupon Bocchus immediately fled. Jugurtha, whilſt he endeavoured to ſuſtain his men, and maintain a victory which he had almoſt gained, was incloſed both on the right and left, by our horſe; and, having ſlain all about him, broke ſingly through the enemy, and got off amidſt a ſhower of darts. By this time, too, Marius, who had routed the cavalry, came to the relief of his men, who, he heard, had given ground. And now the enemy was entirely defeated in every quarter.

Then it was, that a tragical ſpectacle preſented itſelf all over the widely-extended plain; ſome flying, others purſuing; ſome killed, others taken; horſes and men proſtrate in the agonies of death. Many wounded, and tho' impatient to fly, unable to do it; one while ſtriving to riſe, and inſtantly dropping down again. In a word, the ground was covered, as far as the eye could reach, with arms and carcaſſes, and the intermediate ſpaces ſtained with blood and gore.

The

The conſul, now undoubtedly conqueror, purſued his march to Cirta, as at firſt he intended. Here, five days after the defeat of the Barbarians, deputies came to him from Bocchus, requeſting of him, in his name, to ſend two perſons, whom he could entirely confide in, to the king, that he might treat with them upon matters that concerned his own intereſt, and likewiſe that of the Roman people. The conſul immediately ſent L. Sylla and A. Manlius, who though they went at the king's requeſt, yet thought proper to accoſt him with a ſpeech, in order to diſpoſe him to peace, if he ſtill ſeemed averſe to it: or if he deſired it, to ſtrengthen that diſpoſition. Accordingly Sylla, to whom Manlius gave precedence, in conſideration of his eloquence, and not of his ſeniority, thus briefly addreſſed himſelf to Bocchus.

'It is a great pleaſure to us, king Bocchus, 'that the gods have diſpoſed a prince of your 'merit to prefer peace to war, and no longer to 'ſtain your own diſtinguiſhed character by uniting 'with Jugurtha, the moſt deteſtable of all men; 'ſince you have thus delivered us from the diſa-'greeable neceſſity of purſuing you both with the 'like vengeance; you, for your miſtake in aſ-'ſiſting him; and him, for his enormous crimes. 'The Roman people, even in the infancy of 'their ſtate, when their territory was but ſmall, 'always reckoned it better policy to procure 'friends than ſubjects; thinking it ſafer to rule 'over ſuch as yielded a willing obedience, than 'thoſe who only obeyed thro' compulſion. Nor can 'any alliance be more advantageous to you than 'ours; one great reaſon is, that we are at a great 'diſtance from you, ſo that you cannot be ap-'prehenſive of receiving any injuries from us, and

'yet we are ready to be as ſerviceable to you, as 'if we were your neighbours. As another induce-'ment, we have already as many ſubjects as we wiſh 'for, and only want to encreaſe the number of our 'friends, of whom, neither we, nor any other 'ſtate, can ever have enough. I wiſh, indeed, 'you had, at firſt, taken the preſent courſe; in 'that caſe, you would certainly before now, have 'received more benefits from the Roman people, 'than you have ſuffered calamities from their 'arms. But ſince it is the determination of for-'tune, which over-rules the greateſt part of hu-'man affairs, that you ſhould make trial of the 'force of our enmity, as well as of our friendſhip, 'embrace quickly the occaſion ſhe now offers, 'and accompliſh ſpeedily, what you have now 'begun. You have many opportunities, and 'many things in your power, for retrieving your 'paſt miſtakes by future ſervices. To conclude, 'be firmly perſuaded of this, that the Romans 'are never to be overcome in generoſity. Their 'power in war, you yourſelf have already 'proved.'

To all this Bocchus returned a very courteous anſwer, making at the ſame time a brief apology for his miſconduct; alledging, 'that he had re-'courſe to arms from no hoſtile intention, but 'purely to defend his own territories; that he 'could not bear to ſee Marius lay waſte that part 'of Numidia, which was his own by the right of 'war, as having conquered it from Jugurtha; 'that he had formerly ſent ambaſſadors to Rome 'deſiring to be admitted to an alliance, and was 'rejected; but that he was willing to omit men-'tioning old things, and to ſend deputies again to 'the ſenate, if Marius conſented to it?' This being

being granted him, the mind of the Barbarian was again changed by ſuch of his confidents, as were corrupted by preſents from Jugurtha; who, when he heard that Sylla and Manlius had been ſent to Boochus, apprehended what was really contriving againſt him.

Marius, in the mean time, having ſettled his army in winter-quarters, marched into the deſarts, with a detachment of light-armed cohorts, and part of his cavalry, to beſiege a tower of Jugurtha's, where he had placed all the Roman deſerters for a garriſon. Now again Bocchus, either reflecting upon his two late defeats, or wrought upon by ſome others of his confidents, whom Jugurtha had not corrupted, reſumed his former ſentiments, and choſe from amongſt his friends five ambaſſadors, of proved integrity, and eminent abilities: theſe he ordered to go to Marius, and afterwards, if he ſhould think proper, to Rome, giving them full powers to negociate affairs, and end the war, upon any terms.

The ambaſſadors departed ſpeedily for the winter-quarters of the Romans, but being beſet on the road, and ſtript of all they had by Getulian robbers, they purſued their march to Sylla, whom the conſul, when he begun his expedition, had left proprætor. Sylla received them, not as ſuch faithleſs enemies deſerved, but in a reſpectful and generous manner: the Barbarians were ſo pleaſed with this, that they gave no credit to the report of the Roman avarice, and concluded Sylla to be their friend, from his munificence towards them. For there were many ignorant, even in thoſe days, that bounties were ever given from intereſted views; every generous man being then thought benevolent, and all preſents to proceed from kindneſs. Be-

fore him, therefore, they laid their orders from Bocchus, beſeeching him at the ſame time to aſſiſt them with his advice and good offices. They likewiſe ſpoke in high terms of the wealth, honour, and power of their king, forgetting nothing which they thought would be ſubſervient to their deſign, or tend to gain the favour of the Quæſtor. When Sylla had promiſed all they deſired, and inſtructed them in what manner to addreſs Marius, and afterwards the ſenate, they ſtill waited there about forty days.

Marius, not ſucceeding in his enterprize, returned to Cirta, and being informed of the arrival of the ambaſſadors, ordered both Sylla and them to come to him. He likewiſe ſummoned L. Bellienus the prætor from Utica, and all thoſe of Senatorian rank who were to be found in the country. He examined, together with them, Bocchus's inſtructions to his ambaſſadors, whereby they had powers given them to go to Rome, and to apply to the conſul for a ceſſation of arms, till they ſhould return. Sylla and the greateſt part of the council approved of this. But there were a few, who, unacquainted with the nature of human affairs, which are never fixed, but always changing, and conſtantly for the worſe, propoſed more violent meaſures.

The Moors, having obtained all they deſired, three of them proceeded to Rome, with C. Octavius Rufo, who had come into Africa as quæſtor, with money for the army; two returned to the king, who heard with pleaſure the account they gave him of all that had paſſed, and eſpecially the kindneſs of Sylla, and the many demonſtrations of friendſhip they had received from him. His deputies at Rome, having implored pardon of the

ſenate

ſenate for the miſconduct of the king, into which, they ſaid, he had fallen through the artifices of Jugurtha, and deſired to be admitted into friendſhip and alliance, received the following anſwer.

'The ſenate and people of Rome are always 'mindful both of favours and injuries. They 'pardon Bocchus, however, becauſe he repents 'of his tranſgreſſion, and will admit him into 'friendſhip and alliance when he deſerves it.'

As ſoon as Bocchus had notice of this, he wrote to Marius to ſend Sylla to him, that, by his counſel, matters might be adjuſted between them. Sylla was ſent accordingly with a guard of horſe and foot, Balearian ſlingers, a certain number of archers, and a cohort from Pelignum with light arms for the ſake of expedition; which however ſecured them, as well as any other, againſt the enemy's darts, which were but ſlight. On the fifth day of their march, Volux, the ſon of Bocchus, appeared on a ſudden in the open plains at the head of a thouſand horſe, who advancing haſtily and without any order, ſeemed more numerous than they really were, and made Sylla, and thoſe that were with him, ſuſpect they were enemies. Whereupon every one made ready, adjuſted their arms, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence; they were not indeed, without their fears, but their hopes were greater, as being victorious, and to engage with thoſe they had often conquered. In the mean time, the horſemen, who were ſent to reconnoitre them, returned with tidings that removed all their apprehenſions.

As ſoon as Volux arrived, he addreſſed himſelf to the quæſtor, acquainting him that he was come

by his father's orders, to receive and to guard him. Accordingly they continued their march together for that and the following day without any alarm. But in the evening, when they had already pitched their camp, the Mooriſh prince ran to Sylla with an air of conſternation, and told him, trembling, that he was informed by his ſcouts, 'that Jugurtha was near at hand;' at the ſame time aſking and intreating the Quæſtor, 'to fly 'away with him privately in the night.' To which 'Sylla reſolutely replied, 'that he was not afraid 'of the Numidian, whom he had ſo often de-'feated; that he did not diſtruſt the courage of 'his troops; and that, were he ſure of meeting 'certain deſtruction, he would ſtand his ground, 'rather than fly infamouſly, and betray thoſe 'whom he commanded, merely to ſave a life, at 'beſt but of precarious tenure, and which might 'perhaps, in a ſhort time, be cut off by ſome diſ-'temper.'

Volux, however, propoſing to him to march in the night time, he approved of his advice; and immediately ordered his men to make a great number of fires in the camp, after they had ſupped, and then to march ſilently, at the firſt watch of the night. Next morning about ſun-riſe, when they were all thoroughly tired with their march, as Sylla was encamping, the Mooriſh horſemen acquainted him, that Jugurtha had pitched his camp about two miles further. Upon hearing this our men were ſeized with great conſternation, as believing themſelves betrayed and led into an ambuſh by Volux; and ſome even propoſed putting him to death for that ſo vile a traitor ought not to go unpuniſhed.

But

But Sylla, though he entertained the ſame ſuſpicion as the reſt, would not ſuffer his men to offer him any violence. He exhorted them, 'to be of 'good courage; that a few brave troops had often 'prevailed againſt a numerous army; that the leſs 'they ſparcd themſelves in battle, the more ſe-'cure they would be; that none, who had arms in 'their hands, ſhould ſeek aſſiſtance from their 'heels which were unarmed, nor, in the midſt of 'danger, turn their backs, which were blind and 'defenceleſs towards the enemy.' Then invoking almighty Jove to bear teſtimony to the guilt and treachery of Bocchus, he ordered Volux to depart his camp, as one who had hoſtile intentions. He, with tears in his eyes, intreated him, 'not to 'entertain any ſuch ſuſpicion of him; that nothing of 'this had happened by any treachery in him, but 'rather through the ſubtlety of Jugurtha, who 'being conſtantly in queſt of intelligence, had diſ-'covered his rout. However, as he had no great 'force with him, and depended entirely upon Boc-'chus for ſtrength and ſupport, he did not ima-'gine, that he would dare to make any open at-'tempt, where the ſon of Bocchus muſt be witneſs 'to it; ſo that he thought their beſt courſe would 'be to march boldly thro' the middle of his camp. 'That as for himſelf, he would either ſend his 'Moors before, or leave them there, and accom-'pany Sylla ſingly.' In ſuch an extremity, this propoſal was approved of. Accordingly they immediately advanced, and paſſed without moleſtation; Jugurtha being ſurprized at their unexpected coming, and not having time to take any reſolution. In a few days after, they got to the end of their journey.

There was at that time, a certain Numidian called Aſpar, in the court of Bocchus, with whom he enjoyed great freedom and familiarity, having been diſpatched thither by Jugurtha, as ſoon as he had notice that Sylla had been ſent for, in order to take care of his intereſt, and to pry narrowly into all the deſigns of Bocchus. There was likewiſe one Dabar in his court, the ſon of Maſſugrada, and deſcended from Maſiniſſa, but not of equal quality by his grandmother, for his father was born of a concubine. Bocchus, whoſe favour and confidence he had gained by his many excellent accompliſhments, having found him, upon many former occaſions, a true friend to the Romans, diſpatched him forthwith to Sylla, to acquaint him, 'that he was ready to do whatever the 'Romans required; that Sylla himſelf might appoint the day, the place, and even the hour of 'conference; that he had reſerved every thing to 'be adjuſted by himſelf and Sylla; that an ambaſſador there from Jugurtha ought not to give him 'umbrage, ſince he was admitted to the negociation with the ſole view of facilitating it, as it 'was impoſſible by any other means to defeat the 'dark meaſures of that prince.'

But I find that Bocchus acted more like a perfidious African, than agreeably to what he profeſſed, amuſing both the Romans and Jugurtha with hopes of peace; and that he frequently debated with himſelf, whether he ſhould deliver up Jugurtha to the Romans, or Sylla to Jugurtha; his inclinations leading him to be againſt us, and his fears for us.

Sylla replied, 'that he ſhould ſay but little 'before Aſpar, reſerving what he had to add, to be 'com-

'communicated in ſecret to the king alone, or at 'leaſt in the preſence of very few:' inſtructing Dabar at the ſame time as to the anſwer which he expected to receive from Bocchus, in the preſence of others. When the time appointed for the conference arrived, Sylla declared, 'that he came by 'order of the conſul to know his final reſolution 'as to peace or war.'

The king, agreeably to his inſtructions, deſired Sylla to return about ten days after, at which time he ſhould have a full anſwer, for that as yet he had come to no determination. Upon this they both departed to their reſpective camps. But when the night was far advanced, Bocchus ſent privately for Sylla; none were admitted on either ſide but truſty interpreters, except Dabar, a man of ſtrict honour, who mediated between them, and was ſworn, by mutual conſent, to make faithful repreſentations to both. Upon which the king began thus.

'I never imagined, that I, the moſt pow-'erful prince in this part of the world, and the 'richeſt of all the princes I know, ſhould ever 'be under obligations to a private perſon. And 'indeed, Sylla, before I knew you, I have often 'aſſiſted great numbers at their own requeſt, and 'many of my own accord, but never ſtood in 'need of the aſſiſtance of any myſelf. The caſe 'is now altered, an alteration for which others 'uſually mourn, but I rejoice. I ſhall always 'glory once to have had occaſion for your friend-'ſhip, which I value above every thing. And as 'a proof of my ſincerity accept of my forces, my 'arms, my money, and whatever elſe you deſire; 'uſe them as your own, and after all, never think 'as long as you live, that I have made you a ſuffi-

'cient

'cient requital for your favours. My gratitude ſhall 'ſtill continue the ſame; nor ſhall you ever deſire 'any thing in vain, that is in my power to do for 'you, if I only know it. For, in my opinion, 'it is more diſhonourable for a prince to be outdone 'in generoſity, than vanquiſhed in arms.

'As to the affairs of your commonwealth, 'whoſe intereſts you are come hither to take care 'of, hear what I have briefly to ſay. I never 'made war upon the Roman people; nor ſo 'much as intended it. I only defended my own 'dominions againſt an armed force that came to 'invade them; and now, ſince it is your pleaſure, 'I ſhall deſiſt. Carry on the war with Jugurtha 'juſt as you think proper. I ſhall never paſs the 'river Mulucha, the boundary betwixt me and 'Micipſa, nor ſuffer Jugurtha, to come over to 'my ſide. If you have any thing further to aſk 'worthy of Bocchus and your republick, it ſhall 'be granted you.'

Sylla returned a brief and modeſt reply to all that related to himſelf; but as to the peace and negociation, he ſpoke at great length. He told the king, 'that what he propoſed, would be 'looked upon by the Romans as no kindneſs at all, 'ſince their arms had been ſucceſsful. He muſt 'do ſomething that ſhould appear more for their 'benefit than for his own? an eaſy taſk, as he had 'Jugurtha in his power, whom if he delivered up 'to the Romans, they would then be greatly in-'debted to him, and admit him freely to their 'friendſhip and alliance, with a grant of that part 'of Numidia which he claimed.'

The king at firſt refuſed this condition, urging 'the ties of blood, thoſe of affinity, and ſolemn 'leagues;

'leagues: alledging too, that he was apprehenſive 'leſt, by acting ſo treacherouſly, he ſhould loſe the 'affections of his ſubjects, who loved Jugurtha, and 'abhorred the Romans.' But yielding at laſt to the importunity of Sylla, he promiſed to do whatever he deſired of him. They then concerted meaſures for conducting the mock treaty of peace, which Jugurtha, now quite weary of the war, paſſionately deſired. And having thus laid their plot they parted.

Bocchus the next day ſent for Aſpar, Jugurtha's miniſter, and acquainted him, that Dabar had told him from Sylla, the war might be concluded upon conditions: he ſhould therefore go and diſcover the ſentiments of his maſter. Aſpar went with great joy to Jugurtha's camp; and having received ample inſtructions, returned with great expedition to Bocchus in eight days, and told him, 'that Jugurtha 'was diſpoſed to comply with whatever was required 'of him, only he could not truſt Marius, having 'often made treaties of peace before with the Ro-'man generals, which were never ratified at Rome. 'If Bocchus would conſult not only Jugurtha's in-'tereſt but his own, and have a ſure peace, he 'ſhould procure a meeting of all the parties, under 'pretence of conferring about the terms of it, and 'then deliver up Sylla to him. If he had in poſ-'ſeſſion a perſon of ſuch importance, a treaty of 'peace would then be concluded by order of the 'ſenate and people of Rome, who would never 'ſuffer one of his quality, to continue in the 'hands of the enemy, into which he had fallen, 'not through any ill conduct, but for performing 'his duty to the ſtate.'

The Moor, after having long reflected upon this propoſal, at laſt conſented to it; but whether with

a fraudulent deſign, or ſincerity, is not clear. The inclinations of princes indeed, as they are generally violent, ſo they are unſteady, and often inconſiſtent. Time and place being now appointed for a treaty, Bocchus one while talked with Sylla, another with Jugurtha's miniſter; careſſed each, and made the ſame promiſes to both, who were thereupon equally pleaſed, and conceived equal hopes. But the night before the day fixed for the treaty, the Moor, calling his friends together, then ſuddenly changing ſentiments, and diſmiſſing them, is reported to have had many violent ſtruggles with himſelf; inſomuch that his frequent changes of countenance, and external agitations, clearly diſcovered, notwithſtanding his ſilence, the various emotions of his mind. At laſt, however, he ſent for Sylla, and, in concert with him, laid a plot for the Numidian.

When the day came, and Bocchus was informed that Jugurtha was near at hand, he, with a few of his courtiers, and our quæſtor, went out, under pretence of doing him honour, to meet him, as far as a little eminence, in full view of thoſe who were placed in ambuſh. Thither, according to agreement, the Numidian prince came unarmed with many friends: and immediately, upon a ſignal given, thoſe who lay in wait to ſeize him, ruſhed upon him all at once. They who accompanied him were put to the ſword. He himſelf was delivered in chains to Sylla, who conducted him to Marius.

About this time, our general Q. Cæpio and M. Manlius had an unfortunate battle with the Gauls: which ſpread conſternation over all Italy. The Romans had always been ſtrongly of opinion, and now no leſs ſo, that all other nations muſt yield to their bravery;

bravery; but that, when they fought with the Gauls, they were only to aim at the preſervation of their ſtate, and not at glory. Now as ſoon as it was known at Rome, that the war in Numidia was at an end, and that Jugurtha was coming in chains; Marius, though abſent, was choſen conſul, and Gaul decreed him for his province. On the firſt of January he triumphed with great glory. At this juncture, indeed, the hopes and ſecurity of Rome reſted upon him.

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